

.T H E

Congregational Quarterly.

WHOLE NO. LXII.

APRIL, 1874.

VOL. XVI, No. 2.

WALTER SCOTT GRIFFITH.

We are not to write of the subject of this sketch because he was a Congregationalist. He lived, all his days after conversion to Christ, in Presbyterian connections until he united with the Church of the Pilgrims, in Brooklyn, N. Y., in June, 1870. But he was always more than Presbyterian or Congregationalist in his inner nature and in his supreme sympathy. Few who ever saw him would need any assurance of this; none who knew him well ever doubted it. Catholicity of spirit shone in his face; a largeness of heart and mind was manifest in port and bearing. That was not an unwonted or premonitory affusion of the Holy Ghost by which, in the summer of 1872, in the weekly church meeting, he prayed with outburst of feeling for the blessing of God to descend, not alone upon his own household of faith, but upon Episcopalians, Methodists, and Reformed Dutchmen, gathered in the city in separate convention, conference, and synod. Such prayer came, in part, from the habit of his life,—to take broad views of things and work in wide ranges of effort. A great soul with great powers dwelt in the *physique* whose semblance looks out from the opposite page. A man like this, being dead, may speak to whosoever will listen what it will be valuable to hear.

The eldest of nine children, he was born in the city of New York, July 22, 1808, of a Welsh father, Griffith P. Griffith,

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1874, by CHRISTOPHER CUSHING, for the Proprietors, in the Office of the Librarian of Congress, at Washington.

and a Scotch mother, Phebe Andrus Scott. At two years of age, he was carried into pioneer life by the migration of his parents to the interior of the State of New York. One would like to linger on his boyhood experiences in the then far West. The parents were people of ordinary acquirements and means, the father a member of the Church of England, the mother a Baptist; but both were finally and for years devoted adherents of the Episcopal Church in the United States. His mother evidently infused herself into his spirit. She was resident in the wilderness, with two baby boys, Walter and John, before she was nineteen years of age. It was the period of the War of 1812; the father was much from home; she and the children lived remote from others, within and for themselves, and "feared the British." Sodus, Lyons, Phelps, Geneva, N. Y.,—all were their homes. Walter is spoken of as a bright, joking child; picking up something of a common-school education in youth, early thrown upon his own resources, maturing rapidly; evincing from the first many traits which afterwards distinguished him. He was a veritable farmer's boy, often going to mill with corn, or driving a team by himself fifty miles and more.

Old enough to leave his home, he went to Rochester, N. Y., afterwards an eventful city to him, and was a clerk in the grocery store of Heman Norton. Subsequently he entered into business for himself, in Rochester, in company with his father, and two uncles. Trade expanded; he became a general wholesale grocer and forwarder, and, as men say, was doing well. Here he married Elizabeth Strong Norton, Aug. 1, 1831, who died in Brooklyn, N. Y., leaving a number of children.

But there was another plan for his life than that of a successful Rochester merchant. In 1842 his father, who after 1825 was an extensive and prosperous forwarder of produce from the Mississippi to the Atlantic, and of merchandise on return trips, met with embarrassments, and the son, Walter, was constrained to assume his father's business. This he did mainly in the hope of saving enough from seeming wreck to procure a competence for his father's family. Giving up his own trade and prospects at Rochester, he removed for a short time to Troy, N. Y., and thence to New York city. His fam-

ily home was in New York for a year or two, and was then removed to Brooklyn, not again to be changed.

The effect of this sacrifice upon his own pecuniary fortunes was ultimately serious. The Hudson River barges, of which he became proprietor, encountered sharp competition ; soon the towing of canal boats down the river, to save breaking cargo at Troy, began ; then the railways injured the freighting of his own and other lines, and at the end of fifteen years he retired from the business comparatively a poor man. Our impression is that, besides its hopelessness, the calling was uncongenial to him from the first, because of its many inevitable associations. While living in Brooklyn he married, June 7, 1848, Caroline Greenleaf Norton, sister-in-law of his first wife, — who died, the mother of several children, — and February 27, 1866, he married Mrs. Henrietta Spring Daniel, who survives him, with two children.

In 1860 he organized the Home Life Insurance Company of Brooklyn, with an office in New York ; became its President, and so remained until his death, in Brooklyn, N. Y., November 24, 1872. His administration of its affairs brought success to it from the first ; the Company took rank among the soundest and best, which rank it still holds, — for some time past paying at least twelve per cent annual dividend to its original stockholders, and leaving assets, May 1, 1872, of \$3,204,473, with a total insurance, at the same date, of 10,643 lives.

In the beginning and at the close of his business career, therefore, he was successful, tested by business standards. It is certain that in very many respects, and for many years, he had high regard and honor in business circles. His integrity was unquestionable ; he was esteemed as possessing a wide knowledge of commercial facts and principles, together with the utmost clearness of view as to whatever occupied his attention, and the ability to turn his knowledge to practical use. So one position and another came to him. He was a Director in the Dime Savings Bank of Brooklyn, in the Atlantic Fire Insurance Company of the same city, in the South Brooklyn Savings Institution, as also a member, and the Secretary for years of the Brooklyn Prospect Park Commission. In the wider sphere of New York city, he organized their Corn Exchange, writing

its charter, serving as its Vice-President, and as Chairman of its most important Committees, for long seasons, and his opinions were always sought for and relied upon. Before the Legislature of the State of New York, he was the effective promoter of important measures relating to the commercial interests of the city, *e. g.* the New York Warehousing Bill and the General Bill authorizing the organization of Inland Transportation Companies. In the New York Chamber of Commerce his position was eminently honorable. Elected to membership in 1852, he served upon the Executive Committee from September, 1858, to May, 1861, and from May, 1863, to May, 1869. Thence, until May, 1870, he was the Committee's Chairman; after that, second Vice-President of the Chamber. His usefulness and its recognition are both attested by these facts. From many of these organizations, after his death, there came to his family appreciative notice of his diligent labor, and testimonies to his ability and worth of very decided weight and character.

As to his intellectual capacity, a keen judge of men, associated with him for years, speaks of him as having had the best of perceptive powers and a most retentive memory. Indeed, we have heard statements illustrative of these qualities in him which are startling. His apprehension and memory as to what he had not even seen, but only conversed or read about, often went far beyond most men's knowledge derived from personal contact and acquaintance. Reading descriptions of localities, he so pictured to himself the facts that he seemed as familiar with the places as if he had often travelled over them. He has been heard, for instance, to describe the battle of Gettysburg, giving every small detail of the face of the country, showing where this division of the National Army was placed, and where others were, so vividly as at once to force the inquiry, "How can you possibly remember so minutely from having merely seen it at the time of the engagement?" But he was never there.

In the great Brooklyn Park of several hundred acres, full, by nature, of varied scenery, far beyond Central Park in New York he knew and spoke of all roads and walks, conversed about each noticeable clump of trees, the bridges, all the little knolls and glens, — with perfect ease and familiarity;

but though long one of its commissioners, and giving much time to his duties as commission secretary, and a member of its auditing committee, he knew all these from maps and conversation merely. He was only once within the Park's limits, and was then after a brief stay driven away by a shower. The only other occasion when he was very near the Park was at the time of the unveiling of the statue of President Lincoln in its plaza, and then he had the same experience in being obliged to hasten his departure.

His powers of reasoning were usually trustworthy; very many who knew him well relied upon his judgments. His range of information upon general topics was broad. One says, "I always found his conversation upon such subjects full of interest and instruction. He had not a great deal of 'small talk,' and I do not think his sense of humor was strong." Perhaps he was deficient in imagination, but "all kinds of knowledge had an attraction for him,—all, at any rate, which had any practical bearing. I never observed in him a taste for pure speculation." His especial and deepest interest in study was excited by the Bible. The Apostle to the Gentiles was his favorite author. Evening by evening, when he came up-stairs, he would say to his companion, when asked, "Where have you been so long?"—"I have had such a perfectly glorious hour with Paul!" He could enjoy some fiction, however, but not excessively. Utterance by voice and pen was easy for him. He gave expression to his views often publicly, but never, so far as we know, obtrusively. His speeches, particularly that at the annual meeting of the American Board of Foreign Missions in 1862, were strong in conception and treatment. He always regretted that he lacked a collegiate education, and we are sure that, had he received it, his mark on mankind would have been very deep.

Still, his intellectual must have been below his emotional nature in quality and power. All that can be gathered marks him as having had susceptibility and ardor of feeling which were remarkable. A "fire" was "shut up in his bones." He was enthusiastic to the last days of his life, always throwing his whole soul into what he did. Conviction, sympathy, action, were alike intense. He believed entirely in whatever cause he

espoused. It was as natural for him to walk by faith as it is for most men to live by sight ; so it was easier for him to endure and push on, unflinchingly, determined that no remissness of his should bring failure to any enterprise.

We saw him grapple readily with questions of great reach and bearing, and yet he was not forgetful of details in executing his projects. Forecast as to relations and influences affecting his plans he exercised with profit ; and we need not wonder, though he was sometimes engaged in sharp and bitter controversies with men who were as decided as himself, that an old acquaintance wrote when he was dead, " Mr. Griffith was a natural leader of men. Zeal, courage, energy, strength, and Christian emotion made him a power. Inspired by his warmth of nature and by his directness of aim, we were glad to follow this young Christian hero until he matured into the robust reformer which he at last became. His public spirit always led him in directions that were noble." This is one of many kindred testimonies.

Seeing what we have seen of his native and acquired capacity, hearing of the mother, from whom he took so much, as " a grand type of woman," and that his father was " singularly upright in his sense of honor and justice," bearing in mind his training in self-reliance and self-assertion, which began so early, and remembering his wide contact with men, one becomes very solicitous to know the influence he exerted upon them. It must surely have been positive and extensive : was it beneficent ? If he had not been a good man he would have been a very bad one : measured by the highest standard, what was he ?

The truth here is that Mr. Griffith was eminently, for forty-two years, what the grace of God, coming to him in conversion, made him. We have been impressed in looking over his life by nothing so much as that his conversion to Christ determined the effect of his life upon his fellows to a degree quite uncommon in human experience. That took place in Rochester, N. Y., in Nov. 1830, in a revival of religion under the preaching of Rev. Charles G. Finney.

" On a Friday," says an almost life-long friend of his, " I was born into the kingdom. Sabbath morning following, my

mouth was opened to speak for Christ. We were boarding at Colonel Norton's, on the corner of Sophia and Spring Streets, where the new First Presbyterian Church now stands. That morning, before church-time, I met him alone in the corner parlor of the house, and remarked to him that many were then seeking the salvation of their souls, and asked him if he did not care to save his. He replied, "Yes," with hesitation, but said he was differently situated from other men, having his father's and uncle's business to attend to. I answered that if he considered that a sufficient excuse for the day of judgment, I could say no more, and at once retired to my room to pray for him. He was an attendant upon the services of Dr. Whitehouse, at St. Luke's Episcopal Church. But in the evening he was asked to go to the Third Presbyterian Church, to hear Mr. Finney, which he did. The next day he was under deep conviction, trembling with anxiety, inquiring what he must do to be saved. He remained all day in his room. I asked him how he could leave his father's and uncle's business now? He said with deep feeling, that *he wished never to see his father's and uncle's business again until he had found the Saviour.* That same evening he accompanied us to Mr. Finney's anxious meeting. I think he gave his heart to God that day. Shortly after he united with the First Presbyterian Church, where in time he became superintendent of the Sabbath school." The friend adds, "He, with others, founded and built up the Bethel Church, where I think he remained until he went to New York and Brooklyn."

This record of conversion exhibits some of the strongest characteristics of the man who was its subject. He met the question of personal religious duty by giving to it all his strength of mind and will. One declaration of his, not many years after, in time of trial, shows his mental action in this passage from death unto life. "I want you to remember," said he, "that I have *never* doubted my Master since I first gave myself to him. He has never left me; he has always been to me the very best of friends." That quality of faith was signal, as a habit of Mr. Griffith's mind.

His church connections were with the First Presbyterian and Bethel Churches in Rochester, the Bleecker Street Pres-

byterian Church in New York, the South, Westminster, and First Presbyterian (Henry Street) in Brooklyn, and with the Church of the Pilgrims in the latter city. He was a leader in them, not always in official position, but always by weight of character and talent. Personal piety was a growth in his case, as it is with other disciples ; but he left no Christian friends in doubt that intense love and loyalty to a personal Christ with whom he communed, day by day, was its root from the first. Combined with this, coming from it, was an unusual fidelity to conscience. One testifies, "I never knew a man whose rectitude of purpose seemed more absolute. The whole force of his iron will went in the direction of his moral judgments. Indeed, it appeared to be with him a spontaneous and instinctive thing to follow the right, as he saw it."

Sometimes in judging of and in dealing with others, he may have erred in giving himself without reserve to the impetus of this purpose, and his uncompromising virtue gave him, then, the appearance, perhaps the reality, of undue severity. The same friend has added, "While to my mind there was something eminently wholesome in his capacity for moral indignation, I think he was occasionally too hard upon the faults of others. His own instincts were wholly on the side of the right, and perhaps he could not understand the strength with which temptation appeals to weaker natures. He could hardly comprehend the moral defects and disabilities with which some men are born. Thus, at least, I account for the seemingly excessive severity with which he at times visited transgressors, for if ever a man had a great and tender heart, he had."

Yet he was, on the whole, fair in his estimate of others, and in his treatment of them. If he held others to a high standard of conduct, he judged himself more severely than he did any one else. And in our day we need more men of the stamp who will resign positions of public trust, if they believe that sacred funds are being misused, and find themselves outvoted in directories, when they attempt to prevent it. The terrible scoring, moreover, which, in the white heat of his indignation, he gave to a high Brooklyn official associate, who, as he was satisfied, helped to steal money from the soldiers, illustrated a righteous wrath at sin, which, if oftener exhibited by officials, would benefit society at large.

In all this love of justice and vividness of faith, he was humble in spirit. A pastor, knowing him for years, writes, "He always seemed to me as remarkable for that as for ability." No man, indeed, reads God's Word as faithfully and lovingly as he, and cherishes self-righteousness. He studied the Bible not so much for intellectual gratification already referred to, as that he might incorporate it into his spiritual being. Faithfulness to himself in prayer led him in the same direction. And from this lowliness, he learned submission to God's will; so that when his son, Walter Livingston Griffith, lieutenant in the 90th N. Y. Vols., died of yellow fever,¹ in the service at Key West, far from kindred, himself a sacrifice that he might be faithful to sick men in the hospitals, the father wrote with steady hand, as follows:—

"Your kind letter conveying the sad intelligence of the death of my darling son, was received several days since. The news of my bereavement had reached me through a copy of the *New Era* some ten days before. Permit me to thank you, my dear sir, as I do from a deeply grateful heart, for your kind attentions and counsels to the dear boy in his sickness, and for the blessed assurance that his faith seemed fixed on the Rock of Ages, when you conversed with him the day before he died. It adds greatly to the keenness of our sorrow that he could not send us any message; but we shall be consoled and cheered during all the rest of our pilgrimage by the sweet words of comfort contained in your letter, and in his reply to Lieutenant Smythe, when he proposed to call you in just previous to his death. They are of priceless worth to us. Let me assure you that this great loss, as connected with your regiment and work, has the effect to create a peculiar interest in the officers and men of the 90th, and it will always give me very great pleasure to serve any of them or theirs. May the Lord bless you in your work, and may the Providence of God give such emphasis to his Word as to make you eminently successful in winning souls to Christ."

Here, we are certain, the ordinary and governing spirit in Mr. Griffith shone out. The last sentences really touch a vital chord of his Christian life, the desire that was often intense, — to minister to others. In family relations he was unselfish. In the details of home life the feelings of each and every one were to be consulted before his own; children and servants he treated with like unvarying courtesy and kindness. Old

¹ October, 1862, aged 22 years.

servants came back to him for advice and help. His strength was at the service of the weak. An incident is told of his reaching a sea-side hotel, where his family spent the summer, in the very early morning. He would not disturb them ; but sitting in the verandah, with his paper, saw an Irish nurse taking up water from the sea, for a child's bath, and noticed that, as she stooped, her dress dipped in the water. It was the movement of an instant for him to leave his seat and reading, offer to bring the water for her, then draw and carry pailful after pailful, until she had enough. The best testimony to his graces, in this respect, came from those who were most in contact with him. Courtesy to others, particularly to women, was chivalric, and was the same in the hurry of business as in leisure. His clerks said that he never used a hasty or impolite word to them. Whoever came for help had at least respectful hearing and sympathy ere he went away. There was no human being and no class of men so remote that his sympathy was not moved by the story of their need. In fact, the interests of those who came to him in want were his own. An army chaplain says :—

"I have, in a hundred cases, advised the widows and heirs of deceased soldiers to call on Mr. Griffith for advice, counsel, help. It has in every case been given with an urbanity and kindness that at once set the applicant at ease, and gave the assurance, 'I am in the presence of a friend.' It was no sacrifice or self-denial to Mr. Griffith to be patient ; it was his nature. He could condescend to men of low estate, and do a favor, without humbling the recipient. His kindness and generosity, his patience in listening to and instructing the ignorant, are to-day remembered in many a home of the poor, who have, in losing him, lost a friend. After my return to the city, I found in this dear servant of the Lord Jesus a valued friend in my labors in the homes of the poor and destitute, and in the prisons among the unfortunate."

Everywhere, indeed, he was active for the welfare of men. No cause of benevolence failed to find in him an efficient friend. During the Rebellion, though previously a conservative on the slavery question, his soul really flamed out in support of the Government, and in succor to those whose friends had gone to fight for it. The War Fund Committee of King's County (N. Y.), with a hundred and fifty members, of which

he was secretary, had its field of work greatly enlarged by his fertility of suggestion and zeal in execution. It obtained from the Government, from 1862 to 1866, and paid over to the families and friends of soldiers from the county, over \$450,000, in warrants, without a penny's charge to the three thousand recipients, raised six regiments of troops, and in other ways attested its devotion to the nation's cause. He had a large share in this work.

As President of the Brooklyn and Long Island Christian Commission, he was widely known and loved. The chaplain's letter just quoted is the simple statement of facts which go to justify one in declaring, "In recalling him as I knew him, I seem to be looking on the portrait of one who came nearer than it is given to many to do on this earth, 'unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ.'" "He was a good Christian worker," says his Presbyterian pastor,— "was my Sabbath-school superintendent for years, and in many respects had great power over others. With me he devised and carried through in 1850, and afterwards, the Church Erection Fund (Presbyterian) of \$100,000; went to the New School General Assembly more than once to secure its adoption, and afterwards wrought successfully to raise the money." He was for years a director of Union Theological Seminary, and if a director, we know was ardent for its welfare.

But by far his most fitting and joyful sphere of Christian effort was the Foreign Missionary Enterprise. In Brooklyn, men said that he had foreign missions "on the brain." The truth was that the foreign missionary work gave scope to the Christian fulness that was in him, and there was probably no hour after his close connection with this cause when he would not have laid down his life for the conversion of the heathen. He became corporate member of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1852. Rev. Mr. Treat, Home Secretary of the Board, has said of him:—

"The wisdom of the choice was apparent in later years. In 1856 the Board resolved, at Newark, to enlarge the Prudential Committee by the addition of two members from the Presbyterian Church. Rev. Dr. Asa D. Smith, then of New York city, and Mr. Griffith were selected to fill the place. After the removal of Dr. Smith to Dartmouth College, Rev.

Albert Barnes was chosen to the same position, but Mr. Griffith continued a member of the Committee to 1870, when he resigned the office.

"His visits to the Missionary House were, of necessity, infrequent; but his associates were always glad to see him. When questions of peculiar difficulty and importance were under consideration, they listened to his thoughtful words with special satisfaction. Some of the discussions in the old Committee Room, 33 Pemberton Square, when he had come from Brooklyn and Mr. Barnes from Philadelphia, will not soon die out of the memory of the survivors. Great interests were at stake; those who spoke felt that a heavy responsibility was upon them."

Through nearly all his life Mr. Griffith had health that was simply robust. But none need be surprised to learn that he taxed his powers of endurance to the uttermost. Still, up to the fall of 1866, he had full strength. At this time he sustained a great nervous shock, though it was not until 1870 that he became assured of trouble in his heart. Friday evening, the 22d of November, 1872, after sleeping two hours, he woke to such agony as, for a time, made him delirious. Ether relieved him, and his mind became clear.

"It was not certain that he could see another earthly morning," says one who was present. "I went to him and said, 'If you thought you should go home to-night, have you anything to say to us?' I shall never forget the long, steady look into my eyes when he learned that all hope of his continuing in life was given up. The words of love came soon, but he seemed almost unmanned at first. Afterwards he alluded to it as coming 'like the shock of an earthquake.' With wonderful clearness he immediately dictated concerning his affairs, left messages for the absent, talked with us as a family, and with each of the children separately. On Saturday he saw all who came, spoke of his hope and peace, and his willingness to abide by his Father's will.

"Mr. Beecher came, saying, 'Well, my brother, I hear you are walking in the light.' — 'No,' said he (to our surprise), 'not in the light, but in the twilight. They say I am going to die, but *I have not heard the Master's voice.* And though I am filled with sweet peace, and am ready to go, if he calls me, there is none of the noonday brightness of the Sun of Righteousness which I expected in this hour. I hoped to hear my Lord call me, and then I should leave all and *run* to meet him. Now I am only listening and waiting. Life looks very sweet to me. I am not anxious to go, but am ready to meet his dear will.' Mr. Beecher prayed with him, and they shook hands, with the expressed hope of meeting beyond the river, with as much cheerfulness as if it had been an interview on the morrow.

"Dr. Storrs came in later, and to him Mr. Griffith said he had no doubts, no fears, — 'I *know* in whom I have believed.' He too prayed with him.

After that he seemed to sink. The night was a hard one. The next day he was in a dull, heavy state. He would rouse up to the idea that it was the Lord's day, and say, 'Oh, how stupid I am! I hoped to have sweet communion with my Lord to-day; the Lord has been so gracious in sparing me to you all, and I can only drowse away the day.' That night, with hardly a note of warning, he fell asleep in Jesus, and found the sweet communion he had longed for."

This man, living two score years in the thick of commerce, had better success in life than if he had heaped up riches, which would have failed to sustain him in the last trying hour. His days were resplendent with the beauty of love and of devotion to his Lord. Bending his native and trained powers to the service of God and the good of his fellows, he left a legacy more precious than gold in the lessons of his earthly career. He was one of those of whom, when they are dead, we may say,—

"They are all gone into the world of light,
And I alone sit lingering here!

Their very memory is fair and bright
And my sad thoughts doth clear.

"I see them walking in an air of glory,
Whose light doth trample on my days,—
My days, which are at best but dull and heavy,
Mere glimmerings and decays.

"O holy hope and high humility,—
High as the heavens above!
These are your walks, and you have showed them me
To kindle my cold love."

H. H. MCFARLAND.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

THE HISTORICAL RELATION OF NEW ENGLAND TO
THE ENGLISH COMMONWEALTH.

"Look now at American Saxondom ; and at that little Fact of the sailing of the Mayflower, two hundred years ago, from Delft Haven, in Holland ! Were we of open sense, as the Greeks were, we had found a Poem here,—one of Nature's own Poems, such as she writes in broad facts over great continents. For it was properly the beginning of America : there were straggling settlers in America before, some material as of a body was there, but the soul of it was first this."—*The Hero as Priest*, Carlyle, 1840.

"In y^e name of God, Amen. We, whose names are underwritten, . . . haveing undertaken for y^e glorie of God, and advancement of y^e Christian faith, and honour of our king & countrie, a voyage to plant y^e first colonie in y^e northern parts of Virginia, doe by these presents, solemnly & mutualy, in ye presence of God and one another, covenant & combine ourselves together into a civill body politick, . . . and by vertue hearof, to enacte, constitute, and frame such just & equall lawes, ordinances, acts, constitutions, & offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meete & convenient for y^e generall good of y^e colonie, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience." Cape Cod, Nov. 21, 1620.—*Pilgrim Constitutional Convention*.

"The event is without parallel in the history of any country. . . . It placed on Massachusetts that mental stamp which is destined to prevail over the whole of North America, and to affect the order of events in the old world." — *Senate Doc. Massachusetts*, 1852, Charles C. Hazewell.

"Rev. John Cotton, . . . minister of Boston, in Lincolnshire, carried the name across the Ocean with him ; fixed it upon a new small Home he had found there,—which has become a large one since ; the big busy Capital of Massachusetts, *Boston*, so called. *John Cotton, his mark*, very curiously stamped on the face of this Planet ; likely to continue for some time ! . . . Oracular of high Gospels to New [and Old] England ; who, in his day, was well seen to be connected with the Supreme Powers of this Universe, the word of him being as a live-coal to the hearts of many. . . . In fact, there are traceable various small threads of relation, *interesting reciprocities and mutualities*, connecting the poor young Infant New England with its old Puritan Mother, and her affairs, in those years. *Which ought to be disentangled, to be made conspicuous and beautiful*, by the Infant herself, now that she is grown big ; the busy old Mother having had to shove them with so much else of the like, hastily out of the way for the present ! . . . It is in congratulation on the late high Actings, and glorious Appearances of Providence in Old England, that Cotton has been addressing Oliver." 28 July, Oct. 2, 1651. — *CLXXXIV of Cromwell's Letters, etc.*, Carlyle, 1845.

"It had been happy for England that Master Cotton had taken longer time for deliberation." *Dissuasive from the Errors of the Time*, 1645: 56, 59, 60, by Robert Baillie, Scottish Commissioner to the Westminster Assembly.

A FREQUENT recurrence to the fundamental principles of our polity is enjoined upon us as absolutely necessary to preserve the advantages of liberty and to maintain a free government. The most natural course of this study is in the historical development of our institutions, tracing their germinal ideas in the old-world conflicts. On the discovery of America it was at once mixed up with the religious and political struggles of Europe. Thus, duly considered, the profusion of Leo X and King James's dissatisfaction with his shabby palace are historical keys to fundamental principles in American organic law. So our own George Downing's suggestion of specific parliamentary appropriations, adopted by Charles II against the advice of his whole council, and ending the centuries of dispute between Crown and Commons, may be claimed as an American idea. So,—in the roadstead of what is now Provincetown Harbor,¹ the scene of the Landing of the Pilgrims in New England, and our historical and political beginning,—the cabin of the solitary May Flower, witnessed the pivotal event of modern political history, the compact of November 11, 1620. This—the first written constitution of popular government originated by the people, the germ of American institutions, civil and religious—marks no less a crisis in the world's history, forcibly illustrating Mr. Guizot's remark, that "great ideas, great men, and great events cannot be measured by the magnitude of their cradles."

Riding rough November seas, two hundred and fifty years gone by, this strained and weather-beaten ship, freighted with Christian families,—greater than the kings and heroes of the Argo,—hovered on this desolate coast, waiting till the dawn for anchorage in less tempestuous waters within Gosnold's Cape Cod.² No imaginary ills could have urged to so desperate a venture, with wives and children, across a wintry ocean, "to

¹ Bradford's *Hist. of Plymouth*, p. 89. Dexter's *Mourt's Relation*, 3-8. Baylies's *Hist. of New Plymouth*, i, 27. Freeman's *Hist. of Cape Cod*, i, 60.

² Bradford, pp. 77, 78.

seek out a habitation" in a strange and houseless wilderness, the lair of savages and wild beasts. Who were these refugees? From what wrongs were they escaping? In what school of adversity had they found the polity that has furnished the precedent for a continent, if not for the world?

These are the questions which invite a review of the political and ecclesiastical events and their historical interdependence, which culminated in 1620 on the shores of New England, hallowing the Pilgrims' land to all times as the cradle of civil and religious liberty. The present research touches mainly the development of principles, and calls for historical incidents only as they illustrate the spirit of progress and the inertia or hostility of conservatism.

As dissenters, their offences were rather of omission than of action; so that inquiry as to the occasions and reasons of dissent is of necessity in the nature of an indictment, the Protestants being complainants; and my duty is to present their cause and the evidence of record.

Rome, Geneva, and Canterbury each claimed authority *jure divino*; in each heresy and sedition were one; each kindled the green fagots of persecution, and in bigotry and intolerance¹ they were akin.

The reformers and their precursors, Waldo, Wicliffe, and Huss, were like skirmishers on the enemies' frontiers, engaged in light combats, at a distance from each other; but the first to organize hostilities against Rome, the first general in the field to combine the forces in aggressive and systematic war, was JOHN CALVIN. Rome never felt a deadlier wound than that inflicted by Calvin's policy of quick and thorough destruction of its ecclesiastical pageantry, imagery, and symbolism.² It proposed a revolution, sharp and decisive, rather than a halt-

¹ "Toleration—that intolerable term of insult to all who love liberty."—Motley's *United Netherlands*, iv, 547.

² "Where images were left there was most contest, but most peace where they were all sheer pulled down, as they were in some places." Strype in *Hallam's England*, i, 86. "Ye ceremonies and servis booke and other Popish and anti-christian stuff, the plague of England to this day," said our Governor Bradford in 1630. "Not daring to eke out what was defective in our light, in matters divine, with human prudence,—the fatal error to reformation,—lest by sewing any piece of the 'old garment' unto the 'new,' we should make the 'rent' worse."—*An Apologetical Narration to Parliament*, by Goodwin, Nye, et al., 1643.

ing, lingering reformation like that in England. The pulpit and the Bible in the vernacular superseded the altar with its priestly mediation and anathema, oblations and idols, clouds of incense and glitter of ornament,¹ gorgeous vestments, punctilious ceremonies and drawling of dead words.² Luther burnt the Pope's bull, but Calvin's *Institutes* razed the tiara and returned the "keys" to the people, theirs by inheritance, though lost in the long night of mediæval and antichristian darkness. Where Calvin's polity banished the mitre and its livery of sacerdotalism,—what John Knox irreverently called its "laughable fooleries and comical dresses,"—men were roused from mental torpor, led to think, to consider,—the preliminary of education and progress,—and so rose to a simpler and higher reverence, to a "worship in spirit and in truth." The pall of Popery was torn, and light shone through the rents; superstition crumbled, with its ritual and mechanism; the inward chains fixed on the soul gradually gave way before the light of inquiry; communities were weaned from mediæval fiction and heathenish ceremonies; and the ecclesiastical merchandise of holy water, old bones, and indulgences, of specifics, observances, and other sacerdotal nostrums, excited only aversion and contempt. Wordsworth celebrates

— "those godly men
Who swept from Scotland, in a flame of zeal,
Shrine, altar, image, and the massy piles
That harbored them . . .
In deadly scorn of superstitious rites."

"The Reformation was," says Mr. Carlyle, "a return to Truth and Reality in opposition to Falsehood and Semblance."

Lord Bacon, in his *Controversies of the Church*, 1589, says: "They have made it in a manner of the essence of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper to have a sermon precedent. They have, in a sort, annihilated the use of liturgies and divine service."

¹The vestments "led to erroneous notions among the people, and kept alive a recollection of former superstitions, which render their return to them more easy in the event of another political revolution." Hallam, i, 175.

²"The mysteriousness of an unknown dialect served to impose on the vulgar, and to throw an air of wisdom around the priesthood." Hallam's *England*, 1866, i, 86.

The travelled observer, Sir Edwin Sandys, son of the archbishop, a man pleasantly associated with the Pilgrim Fathers, and whose books had the honor to be burned in Paul's Church-yard, by order of the High Commission, in 1605, records in his *Europæ Speculum*, 1599,¹ that "the first and chiefe meanes, whereby the Reformers of Religion did prevaile in all places, was . . . preaching, . . . at that time . . . out of use, . . . the French Protestants making it an essentiall and chiefe part of the service of God; whereas the Romanists make the masse only a work of duty, and the going to a sermon but a matter of convenience."

Hugh Latimer, the martyr, "continued all King Edward's time, preaching for the most part every Sunday two sermons, to the great shame, confusion, and damnation of a great number of our fat-bellied, unpreaching prelates." In his "notable sermon at Paul's Church in London," January 8, 1548, Latimer said, "The preaching of the word of God unto the people is called meat,—Scripture calleth it meat. Not strawberries, that come but once a year, and tarry not long, but are soon gone, but it is meat. It is no dainties. The people must have meat that must be familiar and continuall, and daily given unto them to feed upon. Many make a strawberry of it, ministering but once a year; but such do not the office of good prelates. . . . How many such prelates, how many such bishops . . . are there now in England? . . . O Lord, whither shall we flee from them? . . . We have had so many hundred years, so many unpreaching prelates, lording loyterers and idle ministers. . . . The apostles . . . preached and lorded not. And now they lord and preach not, . . . there is no work done, the people starve." In his "Brief Discourse" of 1581, George Gifforde says, "I know that in our land, let al the people be numbered, and five parts of yee doe not understand so much in the commandements, Lord's prayer, and articles of the faith, that it were a greate shame for a godly man to have a child of X years olde for to know no more."² In their abject ignorance and superstition, the people had been like "dumb driven cattle."

It was like the quiet of paralysis, except as now and then

¹ Sandys' *Europa Speculum*, p. 76.

² London, 1581, p. 43.

the moral waste was illumined by the bonfire of a Wicliffe's plea for conscience, or of a Tyndale's *English New Testament*, or the burning of a Huss flashed through the darkness to make a Luther, a Calvin, or a Knox. As Cardinal Pole's fagots bathed Ridley and Latimer in fire, at Oxford, Oct. 16, 1555, "Be of good comfort, maister Ridley, and play the man," said Latimer: "we shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England as shall never be put out."

In the time of Henry VIII, probably nineteen twentieths of the people, blind, wretched, and of too little intelligence to be other than indifferent to the strife of the thoughtful few, — the innovators and agitators, — were obsequious to authority if wrapped in the old familiar badges of superstition and consecrated by custom. The murky ignorance slowly yielding to the Gospel light kindled at Lutterworth is hinted by Shakespeare's Jack Cade,¹ the rebel, not a century before Queen Elizabeth was born: "Thou hast most traitorously corrupted the youth of the realm, in erecting a grammar-school; and whereas, before, our fore-fathers had no other books but the score and the tally, thou hast caused printing to be used; and, contrary to the King, his crown and dignity, thou hast built a paper-mill. It will be proved to thy face, that thou hast men about thee that usually talk of a noun and a verb, and such abominable words as no Christian ear can endure to hear."

To which Lord Say answered, like a true disciple of Wicliffe, — "Ignorance is the curse of God; knowledge, the wing wherewith we fly to Heaven," — the very opposite of the thesis that "Ignorance is the mother of Piety."²

"When want of learning kept the layman low,
And none but priests were authorized to know;
When what small knowledge was in them did dwell,
And he a God who could but read or spell;
Then Mother Church did mightily prevail;
She parcelled out the Bible by retail,
But still expounded what she sold or gave,
To keep it in her power to damn and save.

¹ *Henry VI*, 2d pt., act iv, sc. 7.

² "Catholike Priests, who had borne the common sort in hand, that Ignorance was the mother of Devotion, and such ignorant Devotion was the way of Salvation." "The Pouring out of the Seven Vials," etc., by John Cotton, 1642, p. 5. See also "Jewell's Works," Parker Society's Ed., 799, 800, 1203. Pilkinton, Parker Soc., 611.

Scripture was scarce, and, as the market went,
 Poor laymen took salvation on content,
 As needy men take money, good or bad ;
 God's word they had not, but the priests' they had.

At last, a knowing age began to inquire
 If they the Book or that did them inspire ;
 And making narrower search they found, though late,
 That what they thought the priests' was their estate.”¹

Henry VIII — moved, it matters not here whether by personal or political cause, whether vexed by passion, anxiety for the succession, or the farce of papal scruples — cut the knot by putting his own name in place of the Pope's, declaring his own supremacy, and that he no longer held England in vassalage to Rome ; and, as Roger Williams² said, “ With consent and act of Parliament, sate downe himselfe in the Pope's chaire in *England* as since his successors have done,” while the pliant “ bishops who, though they had renounced the pope, still hugged the popedom, and shared the authority among themselves, by their six bloody articles persecuting the protestants no slacker than the pope would have done.”³

“ The scheme was merely,” says Macaulay,⁴ “ to rob the Babylonian enchantress of her ornaments, to transfer the full cup of her sorceries to other hands, spilling as little as possible by the way. The [Roman] Catholic rites and doctrines were to be retained in the Church of England.”

The head of the church, though no longer a foreigner, but an Englishman, was still the “ Defender of the Faith,” with the old hierachal argument of sword and fagot, burning the English New Testament,—that Pandora's box to absolutism, caste, and privilege, whether in church or state,—and strangling its translator, Tyndale, 1536, whose dying prayer was, “ Lord, open the eyes of the King of England !”

The king's eyes were not opened, and as for centuries past, so for centuries to come, the obscure and despised few were to be the forlorn hope of Christian liberty, of human rights. The

¹ Dryden's *Religio Laici*, 16.

² *Queries*, 1644, in Publications of the Narragansett Club, ii, 259.

³ Milton *Of the Reformation in England*, 1641. Bohn's Ed., ii, 370.

⁴ Macaulay's *Review of Hallam*.

cathedral, the trappings and pomp of prelacy and its sensuous worship, were retained, and the old rookeries which Tyndale described as "seats and nests for all unclean birds, and for blind owls which hawk in the dark, and dare not come into the light," — these were preserved, ever inviting Rome to its ancient abodes. The "mother" ever regarded the new incumbents as apostates and ecclesiastical poachers,—a cheat in her livery, to be routed from their fat possessions.

"Panting and pensive now she ranged alone,
And wandered in the kingdoms once her own."¹

The retention of Rome's prelatic polity, ritual, and phraseology in the Prayer Book embarrassed the reformers at every step, and embroiled them in endless jangling, all of which the far-seeing statesmanship of Calvin swept away like cobwebs. Tyndale said in 1530, "The root you left behind, whence all that they have for a time weeded out will spring again by little and little as before: if they, as their hope is, may stop this light of God's word that is abroad." It was this danger, when Mary ordered a mass in Holyrood, August, 1561, that made John Knox to exclaim from the pulpit, "that one mass was more fearfull unto him, than if ten thousand armed enemies were landed in any part of the realme, of purpose to suppress the hole religion."²

Indeed, the reformation of the Anglo-Catholic Church was so imperfect that to be Romish under Mary, or Anglican under Elizabeth, or either under James, involved so little outward change that after the performances in the royal chapel at the Feast of St. Michael, 1606, the Duke of Lorraine said,³ "I do not see what should hinder the churches of Rome and England to unite. There is nothing of the Mass wanting here but the adoration of the Host." So when, at the suggestion of Laud,⁴ James I sent his son Charles to Spain in 1623, to secure the Spanish alliance, he ordered two of his chaplains to join the embassy, and "to take with them their dress, caps, surplices,

¹ Dryden.

² McCrie's *Knox*, Bohn's Ed. 1847, 192. Froude's *Short Studies*, 1871, 139.

³ McCrie's *Melville*, Ed. 1856, pp. 252-263.

⁴ Prynne's *Canterburie's Doom*.

chalices, ornaments, . . . to show by these external forms how little . . . is the difference between them and the Roman Church." Think of the "Governor" of the Anglo-Catholic Church sending its clergy and insignia to "His Most Catholic Majesty of Spain," as living witnesses and visible proof of its loving approach to papal orthodoxy in ritual and symbol, and its pliancy upon occasion. Ten years later the same Laud, chief instigator of the vindictive and remorseless persecution of good Protestants,—the founders of New England,—and the denouncer of the "dissenting" ministers as "the people's creatures,"¹ entered in his diary,² August 4, 1633: "There came to me (one) that vowed ability to perform it and offered me to be a cardinal." It was not resented as an insult, but taken into deliberate consideration, for eleven days later he again wrote: "I had a serious offer made me to be a cardinal. I was then absent from the court, but as soon as I came hither . . . I acquainted his Majesty with it; but my answer was that somewhat dealt within me which would not suffer that, till Rome was other than it was." Within one month that king "translated" that prelate to the primacy of the Anglo-Catholic Church. Under this influence the Star Chamber forbade all

¹ "The people's creatures." This priestly contempt for "the people" also distinguished their "missionaries" to "heathen" America, especially in New England and New Jersey. These manipulating "successors" of the Apostles, with diminished heads, flouted at the Mayhews, the Chaunceys, the Edwards and Hopkins, Witherspoons and Burrs, the glory of the American churches, as "dissenters" . . . of y^e leather mitten ordination . . . given by y^e mob," the people; and to them the "Canons of Congress" in defence of Liberty and Independence were against "the Canons of the Church." Then they "omitted prayers" for the American cause, as again in 1862 they voted not to pray for "our National Government" in our life-struggle against slavery. After the war was over the National Convention of the Episcopal Church refused to adopt a resolution expressive of "thanks to Almighty God for the triumph of the National Government and for the removal of the great cause of our national alienation."—*The Episcopal Church in the American Colonies. Clark's History of St. John's Church, Elizabeth-town, New Jersey, 1871, 83, 84, 110-113, 169. Reports of General Episcopal Conventions, 1862, 1868.*

² Hallam says: "The new primate made a strange answer to the first application, which might well encourage a second; certainly not what might have been expected from a steady Protestant. If we did not read this in his own diary we should not believe it. The offer at least proves that he was supposed capable of accepting it." "To think well of the reformed religion is enough to make the Archbishop an enemy."—Hallam's *Const. Hist. of England*, Ed. 1855, ii, ch. viii, pp. 58-65.

publication¹ of Protestant books, such as *Fox's Book of Martyrs*, *Luther's Table Talk*, and the *Willett's Exposures of Popery*, and in 1634² prohibited the escape to New England of "persons ill-affected to the religion established in the Church of England . . . of ministers who are inconformable to the ceremonies and discipline of the church," and "all that had already gone forth . . . forthwith to be remanded back." They were " vexed at home and not suffered to seek peace abroad." Milton affirmed that the prelates openly "cherish and side with the Papists, and are, as it were, one party with them." The church canons declared that "the most high and sacred order of Kings is of divine right"; that there is no limit to the money "due to Kings from their subjects by the law of God," and that if any resist, according to St. Paul, "they shall receive to themselves damnation"! They also threaten excommunication to "a sect of factious people, sprung up among us, despisers and depravers of the 'Book of Common Prayer,' who will hear sermons, and will not say prayers according to Act of Parliament. Such were the conspirators, such the treason against God and man, such the falsehood, which "a sect of factious people," the loyal Christian manhood of England, resisted even unto death.

When they asked, "What is the Anglo-Catholic faith?" the answer came in the ever-varying acts of Parliament, dogmas, canons, and punctilios under the Tudors or the Stuarts, successively enforced under pains and penalties.³ Such vibrations might not disturb a Vicar of Bray.

The Puritan ever appealed to Scripture, and paid for his dissent and loyalty to conscience in dungeons, at the stake, on the gibbet, or in exile if happily he could escape, thus slowly finding out the right of private judgment, of individual conscience,—the corner-stone of the temple of liberty. A "Come now, let us reason together" would have lowered the dignity of these prelates. Six feet by two, a felon's grave, was the response of Force to Reason. The Independent John Locke said it is for government "to stamp silver and gold, and thereby

¹ David's *Nonconformity in Essex*, 1863, p. 181.

² N. E. *Historic and Genl. Reg.*, viii, 135.

³ Sydney Smith's "Persecuting Bishops," *Ed. Rev.*, 1822.

make them current money ; yet every man has the liberty to examine even those very pieces . . . the stamp makes it neither good nor current. But . . . to coin opinions into truths, and make them current by their authority . . . because this governor or that priest says they are so,"¹ is monstrous.

Selden's famous syllogism was conclusive : Whether "the convocation, which is questionable, whether *jure divino*, and parliaments, which out of question are not *jure divino*, should meddle with religion, which is *jure divino*, I leave to you, Mr. Speaker!"

The murderers of Sir Henry Vane said, "We do not know how to answer him, but we do know what to do with him."

The questions of Sir Walter Raleigh in the House of Commons in 1592—"If two or three thousand Brownists meet at the sea-side, at whose charge shall they be transported ? or whither will you send them ? I am sorry for it, but I am afraid there is near twenty thousand of them in England ; and when they are gone, who shall maintain their wives and children ?"—were answered by the act of 1593, of indiscriminate banishment. Some of them "resolved," says Governor Bradford, in his lately discovered journal,² "to go into the Low Countries, where they heard was freedom of opinion for all men," free from "ye ceremonies and servis booke, and other popish and anti-Christian stuff, the plague of England to this day . . . which ye better part sought, according to ye puritie of ye Gospel, to route out and utterly to abandon." There, one of the congregations of exiles chartered the "MAY FLOWER"; but their pastor, the venerable Robinson, with a part of his flock, was hindered from coming to Plymouth by the intolerance of the party, which, as we shall see, soon after began the second colony—Massachusetts. Such was the malice of bigotry against good men of exemplary life and conversation.

In a letter to the judicious Hooker by George Cranmer, one

¹ King's *Life of Locke*, Bohn's Ed., p. 347.

² As to my discovery of the Bradford manuscript, and its appropriation by Rev. John S. Barry and Mr. Charles Deane, *par noble fratrum*, see Barry's *History of Massachusetts*, i, 79^o. Bradford's *History of Plymouth*, p. v, and *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, 1855 : 231. 1856 : 353.

of his ablest disciples, 1598, he says, "If the positions of the Reformers be true, I cannot see how the main and general conclusions of Brownism should be false; for upon these two points, as I conceive, they stand: 1st." . . . their right "to sever themselves from us. 2d. That without civil authority they are to erect a church of their own."¹

What must have been the popular intelligence and virtue where such principles could be considered dangerous, and what the character and policy of rulers in church and state who trembled at their utterance! How luminous the wisdom, how grand the spirit of those who came out of that darkness, with loss of all things but conscience, in literal obedience to the apostolic injunction, "Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and be not entangled again."

"Assuredly," says Macaulay, "if there be any class of men whom the Protestant non-conformists of England respect more highly than another, if any whose memory they hold in deeper veneration, it is that class of men, of high spirit and unconquerable principles, who, in the days of Archbishop Laud, preferred leaving their native country and living in the 'savage solitudes of a wilderness,' rather than to live in a land of prosperity and plenty, where they could not enjoy the privilege of worshiping their Maker freely, according to the dictates of their conscience."

The virtual transfer of the tiara to Henry VIII was in principle, as it became in fact, revolutionary; for with it the fundamental idea of apostolic succession logically went to the winds, and with it, its authority; but it also wrought a nobler gain, for it changed the field of contest, and evoked the spirit of patriotism, the love and pride of country. Besides, to talk of Anglo-Catholicism was no more absurd than of Roman-Catholicism. The genius of the Roman, Anglican, Scottish, or of any hierarchy, is essentially military; it insists upon unity and consolidation, at whatever cost of private judgment or of personal conscience. It weaves a net-work of centralization which stifles freedom of thought, and establishes the most odious of all despotsisms, that over the mind; it is necessarily hostile to individualism and self-government; it must regard democracy as

¹ Appendix to Walton's *Life of Richard Hooker*.

incompatible with its own prosperity, because subversive of that unreasoning subordination, that implicit obedience, which is its only security.

"If you look upon the government of churches," says Mr. John Cotton,¹ "you will find little difference between Episcopacy and Popery, for they are governed by Popish canons"; and if parliaments are as the times, we may know that it was the poor, especially, who welcomed the Gospel, for both Houses tendered to Henry VIII a bill taking the reading of the Scriptures from most of the laity. Very tedious were the steps leading England to emancipation from Roman thraldom. The cutting loose from Rome involved the loss of her assumed authority; for the *Sacerdos*, if divine, is a unit, incompatible with any other authority. It was this essential defect, coupled with the likeness of Canterbury to the Vatican, which gave the sting to the taunt of Milton, who, in his abhorrence of hierachal arrogance, intolerance, and cruelty, called the new Church "the bastard daughter of Rome." For, still calling itself "the" church, and claiming the old monopoly as the exclusive depository and medium of divine truth and grace, it must be intolerant of doubt or dissent, and so the rights of manhood — of conscience, of thought, and of private judgment — were again to be fought as vehemently and cruelly by the Anglo-Catholic as they ever had been by the Roman Catholic Church, and to be enforced by the same arguments, by personal suffering. In blind fear and hatred of liberty, in intolerance, they were one. Bigotry is cruel, — the defect is inherent in the system. "Like mother, like daughter," was the Puritan proverb. The very existence of an established church was a monstrous injustice.

The intestinal griefs in the Church of England became in young Edward's time a sort of old-clothes quarrel, "a surplice brabble, a tippet scuffle," — ludicrous enough, but for the fearful sufferings to the Reformers; yet it involved the integral principle of the whole system — *authority*. Hooper, the first Puritan in the Church of England, refused the proffered See of Gloucester, in 1551, if obliged to wear the superstitious vestments of Rome, and preferred a prison with conscience to being "twice a saint in lawn" without it. The Puritan alleged

¹ *Churches' Resurrection*, 1642, p. 19.

Scripture and reason : the hierarch urged the inventions of councils, authority, precedent, and prudence,—the usual arguments of the strong and the timid ; the Puritan stood for principle, the hierarch consulted expediency ; the Puritan rested on right, the hierarch on usage and policy ; the one pleaded the principles of justice, the other reasons of state. And so it was when "Bloody Mary" assumed the crown,—a part of the Church of England was burned at Smithfield, a very large part sank sleepily into the "bosom of Rome," while still another portion found a more natural and congenial refuge in the reformed portions of the Continent, especially in the Low Countries.

Among these a "little congregation" found a generous shelter at Frankfort-on-the-Main. In that hospitable city in a "strange land," free from the thrall of despotic authority, and thrown upon their natural rights, self-government was the spontaneous outgrowth of the situation. They tasted the sweets of liberty. "What greater treasure," they wrote, in 1554, "or sweeter comfort could be desired by a Christian man than to have a church wherein he may serve God in purity of faith and integrity of life. . . . Where we would, we could not there obtain it. . . . Before, we have reasoned together in hope to obtain a church . . . free from all dregs of superstitious ceremonies, . . . we had fully determined to have our church served by ministers of our own choosing, and of equal authority. We do not wish a chief superintendent (or bishop), and should we, he would be elected by ourselves."¹

The congregation by common consent used the order of worship of the church of Geneva, of which Calvin was pastor, . . . as most godly, and farthest off from superstition." So naturally did the principle and practice of independency, a self-organized, self-governing congregation, assert itself, with the Bible as its guide and Reason as its interpreter. Seventy years later the principle will reassert itself, under more favorable conditions, and give the law to a continent, for under it and in it to-day we live and move and have our being ; it is the fundamental idea of free government and is the glory of our Constitution. John Knox, in his forty-eighth year, then at

¹ Hopkins's *Puritans and Queen Elizabeth*, i, pp. 76-88.

Geneva, accepted their call to preach to them "the most lively Word of God," and arrived at Frankfort the next November 6.

There was joy and concord in that "little congregation" till a company of other English refugees, intent on profound matters of church forms and ceremonies, mere incendiaries, who got admission under pretence of brotherly love, broke up the congregation. "The troubles at Frankfort" under the lead of the graceless bigot, Dr. Cox, were remembered by Knox and not forgotten by the Puritans.

Others of the Marian exiles, unbiassed by the presence or influence of an established system, or state religion, were led by a study of the Scriptures to question the superiority of bishops, were alienated from Episcopacy, and strongly inclined to the more popular Genevan polity. On the accession of Elizabeth they found little favor at her hands. The violent and unscrupulous adherents of the old vestments and ritualism of the Papal worship — the very party which, in a foreign land, had traitorously entered the "little congregation" at Frankfort — were repossessed of the old abodes of superstition, the cathedrals and rituals, and, under the authority of the Crown, — intent, as Tyndale foretold and Milton described it, on their "surplice brabble and tippet scuffle, . . . to force on their fellow subjects . . . the skeleton of a mass book," — renewed the old persecution. The story of their wrongs and oppression, revolting to justice and humanity, and of their loyalty to conscience, is the subject of Mr. Hopkins's admirable work, *The Puritans and Queen Elizabeth*.¹ Yet this very hierarchy had acknowledged and, even then, recognized the foreign reformed clergy, the Presbytery in Geneva, in Scotland, France, Germany, "even Presbytery of foreigners in their own streets, to be of the true Church of Christ."²

The Romish touch-stone of fidelity was in a rigid adherence to ritualistic ceremonies and observances. Calvin saw this, and on this one point Calvin and the Pope thought alike. So long as this stronghold of superstition remained intact, Rome might hope to regain England.

The weak consciences of her subjects were more tender of

¹ See also Punchard's *Congregationalism*, ii, ch. xi.

² Hopkins, i, p. 455.

offences against the priest than against the Decalogue. Elizabeth, inspired by policy rather than by piety, Romish or Protestant as affairs prompted, reconstructed the Church of Henry VIII, refusing the title of Supreme Head but taking that of "Governor of the Church of England," banished the crucifix from the altar, substituted the Liturgy for the Mass, and filled the Episcopal Sees with her creatures,¹ who ruled like tyrants.

But even these slight concessions to the Puritan spirit of innovation roused Pius V, the ex-Grand Inquisitor, who, March 28, 1569, excommunicated Elizabeth, with the usual ecclesiastical pomp of words, proclaimed her "a heretic and favorer of heretics," and absolved all her subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and made all who should obey her liable to excommunication,—all this because she had "ordered impious rites and ceremonies according to Calvin's *Institutes*."²

This fulmination of the papal curse was not then a solemn drollery, but a high warrant for conspiracy and assassination; it invoked the diabolism conceivable only under an institution which held that the "end justified the means," and consecrated perjury and violence in its service as acceptable to God, and to be rewarded with a heavenly crown. The massacre at Vassy, of St. Bartholomew's, the assassination of William of Orange, of Henry III and of Henry IV, all contemporary, were the work of the Jesuits, that brotherhood of the dagger and the bowl.³

Elizabeth was in peril; and so at a later date, 1618, it was a

¹ The "bishops did not blush to call themselves the creatures of James Stuart, dependant on him as the breath of their nostrils." McCrie's *Life of Andrew Melville*, Ed. 1856, pp. 252-263.

² Camden's *Elizabeth*, in *Kennett*, ii, pp. 427.

³ One of the deeds of this Pius V, when Grand Inquisitor, which "passed in atrocity the common atrociousness" of that church, was the murder of two thousand Vaudois peasants. Eighty men, women, and children were led out of a house, one by one, where stood a brawny ruffian with naked arms, red with blood, who cut the throat of each man as he passed out. Milman's *St. Paul*, p. 294. Mr. Motley says that when it was not in the power of man's ingenuity to add any fresh features of horror to the religious persecution under which the Dutch were groaning, the Pope sent the fiendish Alva a jewelled hat and sword, with an autograph letter "to remember, when he put the hat upon his head, that he was guarded with it as with a helmet of righteousness, and with the shield of God's help, indicating the heavenly crown which was ready for all princes who support the Holy Church and the Roman Catholic faith." *Dutch Republic*, ii, 282-284.

delicate intimation of Gondomar to King James, "that if the Pope and Catholic princes had no hope of a remedy, both his person and crown would be in danger of a violent taking off."

The fathers of New England and the statesmen of the Commonwealth alike regarded the papal church as organized treason, ever waiting its opportunity. John Pym said in the Parliament of 1640, "The principles of poperie are such as are incompatible with any other religion. There may be a suspension of violence for some time, by certain respects, but the ultimate end even of that moderation is that they may with more advantage extirpate that which is opposite to them. Lawes will not restrain them, oathes will not." Our fathers deemed it not a speculative but a practical question, whether an organization, under whatever mask or pretence, secret in council, its priesthood cut off from all ties of state, society, and family, native to the church and alien to the country, without national sentiment or local attachment, and in all interests and events whatsoever bound to absolute submission to a foreign potentate,—whether such an organization is compatible with any other government.¹

In our own day the chieftain of this gliding, vermicular army renews the declarations of open war upon our free institutions, even upon that fundamental principle which distinguishes our American polity from that of Europe, whose debasing and deadening influences are illustrated in Spain, France, and Italy.

The doctrine² that "Liberty of conscience and of worship is the right of every man, a right which ought to be proclaimed and established by law in every well-established State," he, with brazen effrontery, denounces as "a liberty of perdition . . . destructive to all virtue and justice . . . depressing to all hearts and minds . . . against sound reason . . . impious and absurd . . . false, perverse, and detestable . . . especially as they tend to shackle 'his' church . . . not only with regard to each individual man, but with regard to nations, peoples, and their rulers," all of whom, he demands, shall be "*compelled*

¹ "Amsterdam admits of all religions but Papists, . . . who, where'er they live, have another king at Rome; all other religions are subject to the present State, and have no prince elsewhere." Selden's *Table Talk*, 1650.

² Pius IX's *Encyclical*, Dec. 8, 1864.

to inflict the penalties of law upon violators of 'his' religion"; and so, with distinct declaration of war on our political institutions, as "a horrible plague," and this explicit purpose of using the sword, this infallible vicegerent "re-animates . . . warns and exhorts" all his hierachal celibates, who have neither country nor home nor personal conscience, and all his "dear children" in his "church to repel and absolutely avoid the contagion" of "liberty of conscience," and to destroy the very basis of American freedom.

Whether such an organization was compatible with the safety of the Commonwealth, and whether its loyal and consistent members could also be "good citizens" thereof, was and is now a practical question. The irreverent may smile, but this same authority prohibits and condemns all books or teachings which "endeavor to prove that the doctrine of the immobility of the sun in the centre of the world and the mobility of the earth is consonant to truth and not adverse to holy Scriptures."²

It will not be deemed irrelevant here to remember that the significant limitation of our constitutional guarantee to denominations and sects is to those who "demean themselves peaceably, and as good citizens of the Commonwealth"; but must a Commonwealth wait till the foundations are honey-combed, till treason has laid the train of ignorance, superstition, and passion,—wait till the explosion of bestial force in popular violence and anarchy? or anticipate the danger and save the republic? A wise man defined history as "philosophy teaching by example," and wise men may profit by the experience of all countries against their common enemy. Mr. Webster's monitory words were "not to wait till great public mischiefs come, till the government is overthrown, or liberty itself put in extreme jeopardy. We should not be worthy sons of our fathers, were we so to regard great questions affecting the general freedom."

¹ So the Presbyterian "setting up a spiritual tyranny by a secular power, to the advancing of their own authority above the magistrate, whom they would have made their executive to punish church delinquencies, whereof civil laws have no cognizance." Milton's Description of the *Westminster Assembly*, in Harleian Miscellany, x, 39.

² Papal bull of 1664, cited in *North British Review*, July, 1870, p. 282. June 16, 1633, Urban VIII, *ex cathedra*, ordered the sentence against Galileo's astronomical theory to be officially sent to all apostolic nuncios. *Macmillan's Magazine*, Dec. 1873.

Despite infallible interpretation of prophets and psalms that a round world and antipodes would be unscriptural and heretical, a rebellion of nature against "the Church," Columbus sailed on his voyage of discovery; but no sooner was the fact known than the Pope divided this newly discovered portion of his estate among willing vassal princes, with a title good "to all eternity," as his *bull* reads, May 4, 1493.

Fearfully and intimately did European theologies, ethics, and politics affect American colonization: for example, the Huguenot colony in Brazil, 1556, projected by the illustrious Coligni as a refuge from papal persecution, was ruined by the treachery of the leader, and his defection to Rome. The Spaniard, Melendez, destroyed the Huguenot colony in Florida, in 1565, because they were heretics; "not," he said, "as Frenchmen, but as Lutherans"; and Dominique de Gourges, the avenger of that massacre, fitly inscribed on a tablet, "I do not this as to Spaniards, but as to traitors, robbers, and murderers." It was this which, fifty years later, deterred the Pilgrims from Spanish America; for, said Bradford,¹ "If they should then live & doe well, the jealous Spaniard . . . would displate or overthrow them, as he did y^e French in Florida." James I murdered Sir Walter Raleigh as a peace-offering to Spanish colonial jealousy at the time the Pilgrims — preferring exile in America rather than in Holland — were pleading, by their friends of "good rank and quality," "that he would be pleased to grant them freedom of religion" in that desert; but so dead to shame, so eagerly servile was he to the imperious Philip's purpose of Romanizing Great Britain, that he would not "tolerate them by his public authoritie under his seal," but at the most, and that reluctantly, would "connive at them."

The Pilgrims upon reflection felt that "a seale as broad as y^e house floor" would be useless, and so without it "they must rest . . . in God's providence, as they had done in other things," and prepared for their mission.

The colonization of South Carolina grew out of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which cost France 50,000 Protestant families fleeing from the papal sword and fagot. New

York was colonized by the liberty-loving and valorous Dutch, whose commercial enterprise baffled Spain.

Virginia, an "emunctory" for the waste of England, was colonized by a corporation whose laws exacted of "every man and woman" a rigid observance of the established religion, under penalty of the galleys, whipping-post, and even death.¹ It was this Anglo-Catholic mode of conversion that decided the Pilgrims "to live as a distincte body by themselves, . . . for it was objected, that if they lived among y^e English wh. wear ther planted, or so near to them as to be under their government, they should be in as great danger to be troubled and persecuted for the cause of religion, as if they lived in England, and it might be worse."² The spirit of those laws and of the church which invoked them remained. Despite their rigor, a few Puritans ventured into Virginia. In answer to their earnest call, New England sent ministers to preach the Gospel there, — the first in our missionary annals. This was an aggression not to be endured, and so Virginia exiled her non-conformists, among whom were some of her best and ablest men, one at least of whom Massachusetts especially welcomed and honored.³

Some of these Puritan exiles from Virginia went to Roman Catholic Maryland and were potent in its affairs for good. In his admirable address, *Maryland Two Hundred Years Ago*, Mr. Streeter says that the principal credit due to the proprietary and the people is, that having seen the need of the articles of toleration, "they acquiesced in them when presented to their consideration," and that the articles "originated from no congenial principle at that day recognized either in the Catholic or Protestant divisions of the church," but were drawn up in England in 1649, in deference to the progressive doctrines of the Independents.⁴

¹ Benedict's *Beginning of America*, 1860, p. 60.

² Bradford, 28.

³ "Some honest minded people in Virginia . . . sent earnest letters, and one or more messengers to the elders of these churches here for some of our ministers;" and Mr. Knolles of Watertown, Mr. Tomson of Braintree, and Mr. James of New Haven, were sent. . . . "What entertainment they found from the major part of the government there, I forbore to speak." Cotton's *Way Cleared*, 1648-76. Mather's *Magnalia*, B. iii, ch. xvii. Winthrop's *Journal*, ii, 78-95. Hubbard's *New England*, 410-522. *New England Hist. Gen. Register*, i, 348.

⁴ Before the Maryland Historical Society, May 20, 1852, p. 41.

Mr. Streeter speaks by the record. Plymouth, New England, had germinated those doctrines, and through Henry Vane and Cromwell they ruled England ; and thus Plymouth dictated that Act which secured liberty of conscience, even in Roman Catholic Maryland.

That their assertion of their right to choose their own ministers was the only avowed reason for refusing the formal royal assent to the removal of the Pilgrim exiles to America, shows that the Crown was ruled by the Mitre, even in remotest things.¹

From this, the line of contrasts between Jamestown and Plymouth will show two conflicting civilizations. The Jamestown colonists, rank and file, were sent out by a corporation, under the royal seal, for gain, more as if criminals than volunteers, to be governed by a code of Draconian severity, more like that of an army or a penitentiary than of civil life ; their religion was reduced to a manual of mechanical routine, under a detective surveillance fatal to spontaneity, — the very essence of spiritual life, — under officers whose functions were more those of a police than of the civil magistracy of an orderly community ; in brief, as dependants under rules and authority external to themselves, to which their assent was neither asked nor given, and to which their only relation was that of enforced obedience. For example, "Every man and woman duly twice a day, upon the first tolling of the bell, shall, upon the working days, repair unto the church to hear divine service" ("according to the doctrine, rites, and religion now professed and established within our realms of England"), "upon pain of losing his or her day's allowance for the first omission, for the second to be whipt, for the third to be condemned to the galleys for six months. . . . And also every man and woman shall repair in the morning to the divine service, and sermons preached upon the Sabbath day ; and in the afternoon to divine service and catechising, upon pain for the first fault to lose their provision and allowance for the whole week following ; for the second, to lose the said allowance and also to be whipped, and also for the third to suffer death."²

¹ Bradford, 29, 35.

² Mr. Benedict's *The Beginning of America*, 1863, p. 58. Force's Tracts, i.

"There is not one man nor woman in this colony now present, or hereafter to arrive, . . . if they shall refuse . . . to give an account of their faith . . . unto the minister, . . . the governor shall cause the offender, for the first time of refusal, to be whipt, for the second time to be whipt twice, and to acknowledge the fault upon the Sabbath day in the assembly of the congregation ; and for the third time, to be whipt every day until he should submit to the priestly inquisition."

"Not an element of popular liberty," says Bancroft, "was introduced into the form of government." Evidently, the state was auxiliary to "church" missionary work, its chief appeals to conscience and means to conversion being the whipping-post and gallows. True it is, "the priest of superstition rides an ass, but the priest of fanaticism a tiger."¹ Thus the Virginians were driven to

— "love the Church that claims our awe
Tow'rd holy Truth, by force of Statute Law,
And helps free grace to gain the Soul's assent,
And cleanse our sins, by Act of Parliament."

Now for the contrast: The Plymouth colonists were "not a corporation, but knit together by a voluntary combination."² Without the royal seal, they were volunteers, free

"To ask what's reason," not "proclaim what's writ" by despots, Self-dependent, self-reliant, self-governing, under their own laws and their own officers, under a constitution adopted and signed in a convention of "the people, in whom," said Mr. John Cotton in 1640,³ "fundamentally all power lyes."

In this compact, the theme of philosophers and statesmen, and the model for all times, they covenant as follows :—

"We, . . . in y^e presence of God, and one of another, covenant & combine ourselves togeather into a civil body politick — . . . and by vertue hearof to enacte, constitute, and frame such just & equall lawes, ordinances, & offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meete and convenient for y^e generall good, . . . unto which we promise all due submission and obedience."⁴

¹ Isaac Taylor's *Natural History of Enthusiasm*.

² Smith's *History*, 247. Bradford's *Plymouth*, 2, 4-26-32.

³ Trumbull's *Lechford*, note 34.

⁴ Bradford's *Plymouth*, pp. 66, 89.

It was an easy process ; its controlling influence went through the successive New England colonies.

As early as 1636, in the feebleness of feudal authority under Gorges, the Saco planters, thrown upon their natural rights, entered into a like popular combination, under whose authority even Bonython's co-patentee, Thomas Lewis, was cited to answer for contempt.¹ The next year, 1636, Rhode Island presents this remarkable document² :—

“ We, whose names are hereunder, desirous to inhabit in the town of Providence, do promise to subject ourselves in active or passive obedience to all such orders or agreements as shall be made for public good of the body, in an orderly way, by the major assent of the present inhabitants, masters of families, incorporated together into a town fellowship, and such others whom they shall admit unto them, only in civil things ; ” and thus, as Mr. Arnold says, “ ignoring any power in the body politic to interfere with those matters that concern alone man and his Maker.”

So the Connecticut planters, under their leader, Mr. Thomas Hooker, the old London friend of the Pilgrims, Jan. 14, 1639, formed a constitution “ to maintain peace and union ” by “ an orderly and decent government, established according to God, to order and dispose of the affairs of the people at all seasons, as occasion shall require, do therefore,” say they “ associate and conjoin ourselves to be as one public State or Commonwealth.”³

And “ on the 4th day of the 4th month called June,” of the same year, “ all ” the New Haven planters,—Eaton, Goodwin, Hopkins, and the rest,—under the lead of their pastor, Mr. John Davenport,⁴ “ assembled together in a general meeting to consult about settling a civil government, according to GOD, . . . seeing they were free to cast themselves into that mould and form of Commonwealth which appeareth best for them.”⁵

So in 1639 the Exeter planters, “ destitute . . . of whole-

¹ Folsom's *Saco and Biddeford*, p. 49.

² Arnold's *Rhode Island*, i, pp. 102–103.

³ Trumbull's *Hist. of Connecticut*, 1797, pp. 47–48–95. Trumbull's *Col. Rec. of Connecticut*, i, 20–26.

⁴ Hoadly's *New Haven Col. Rec.*, i, 11–19. Trumbull's *Hist. of Connecticut*, Ed. 1797, i, p. 533.

⁵ Trumbull's *Hist. of Connecticut*, Ed. 1818, i, pp. 502, 504.

some laws and civil government, . . . in the name of Christ and in the sight of God," say we, "combine ourselves together to erect and set up among us such government as shall be to our best discerning agreeable to the will of God"; and a year later the Dover planters, Larkham, the Waldernes, and thirty-eight others, "whose names are underwritten, . . . have voluntarily agreed to combine ourselves into a body politic," to be governed by "such laws as shall be concluded by a major part of the freemen."¹ Again, in 1643,² articles of confederation betwixt the plantations under the "several governments of Massachusetts, Plimouth, Connecticut, and of New Haven, with the plantations in combination therewith," were entered into under the name of "The United Colonies of New England."³ The preamble recites that "whereas, we all came into these parts of America with one and the same end and ayme, . . . are encompassed with people of several nations and strange languages, . . . and . . . seeing the sad distractions in England, . . . enter into a present consociation amongst ourselves for mutual help and strength in all our future concernments." They neither call themselves "subjects," nor even allude to a "king." It was an international league of Independent Commonwealths, without the baubles of a crown or a mitre.

Thus it appears that at Jamestown the colonist was a servant, in Plymouth, a citizen; one was an agent, the other a principal; the one obeyed implicitly, without reason, the other obeyed with reason: in brief, one lived by *rule*, the other by *law*,—they were "a law unto themselves."

Force and fear were essential to the first, intelligence and virtue to the other; and these were their respective bases.

¹ Farmer's *Belknap*, 432–433. Among them were Wheeler, Mr. Wheelwright, the minister, one of Winthrop's Exiles, Rishworth, Dearborn, Wentworth, Lamson, and Purmot, the schoolmaster.

² Hoadly's *New Haven Col. Rec.*, 161, 562.

³ "It originated," says Chalmers, *Annals*, ch. 8, "with Massachusetts, always fruitful in projects of independence. No patent legalized the confederacy, which continued until the dissolution of the charters in 1686. Neither the consent nor approbation of the governing powers in England was ever applied for or given. The principles upon which this famous association was formed were altogether those of self-government, of absolute sovereignty." As to why Rhode Island and "Agamenticus, a poor village, lately made a corporation," did not join, see Arnold's *History of Rhode Island*, i, 115, 156–158, 340.

In exact accord with these contrasts, there was still another rudimental difference between Jamestown and Plymouth, which ended in the conflict that so lately convulsed the nation. In one was cherished the feudal sentiment of contempt for labor, and a social degradation of the workingman, ever fruitful of ignorance, indolence, barbarism, woe, and general decay ; in the other, labor was honorable and honored, making the North a field of intelligent industry, virtue, temperance, and frugality, where free institutions — the school, meeting-house, and college — were the fruits and the stay of Christian civilization.

In England the Pilgrims "had only been used to a plaine countrie life and y^e innocent trade of husbandrie," and in exile in Holland, "they fell to such trades and employments as they best could, valuing peace & their spirituall comforte above any other riches whatever. At length," says Bradford, "they came to raise a competence & comfortable living, but with hard and continual labor."

Governor Carver died from overwork in the field in seed-time ; and Governor Winthrop, the successor of Conant and Endicott, was "in plaine apparel assisting in any ordinary labor."¹

"Thus to men cast in that heroic mould
Came Empire, such as Spaniard never knew,—
Such Empire as beseems the just and true;
And, at the last, almost unsought, came gold."²

In Virginia the church maintained its legal position, yet it seems the atmosphere was not wholly congenial, since its stanch defender, Governor Berkeley, passionately wished his clergy would "pray oftener and preach less," for, said he, "learning has brought disobedience, heresy, and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them. Thank God, here are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall have none these hundred years." Whether the Governor's thanks were due heavenward, some may doubt ; but certain it is his pious

¹ *Historical Magazine*, iii, 261-263, 358-359, iv, 4-6 ; Punchard's *Hist. of Congregationalism*, iii, chap. xii, xv, as to the occupations of the Pilgrims ; Bradford's *Plymouth*, 100 ; Sainsbury's *Col. Papers*, 1574-1660, 156, 632.

² Richard Monckton Milnes, Lord Houghton.

ejaculations rested on Virginia near two hundred years, till, in the course of human events, freedmen and free schools invaded her sacred soil. Yet sects, like sin, will intrude, and it is said that Virginia Baptists gave to Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson useful ideas in government, much talked about since July 4th, 1776. Canada, in the mean time colonized by the French, was absolutist,—had no people: there was only priest and king.

But the New England colonies represented other shades of opinions in Old England, and there again we must search for their *incunabula* and study their origin.

Wycliffe's vernacular Bible disturbed Rome by exciting doubt, irreverence, and endless disputes; and Tyndale followed up the assault by printing the New Testament in English, to the dismay of all true churchmen. In 1525 he published an address to the people denouncing the prelates as "so bedlam as to affirm that good is the natural cause of evil, and darkness to proceed out of light, and that lying should be grounded in truth and verity; and not rather clear contrary that light destroyeth the darkness, and verity reproveth all manner of lying." It was the old fight between darkness and light. The one, resting on force, was established in Virginia, followed by centuries of popular ignorance: the other, resting on Scripture and reason,—"the God within the mind,"—found refuge at Plymouth, established free schools and printing, and the result is before us.

In the intense awakening that came of the labors of Wycliffe and Tyndale, the conception of the relation of religion and law, of conscience and the state, was gained by slow and painful steps. The present order of ideas was inverted, and under "the enormous faith of many made for one"; there was no society, no public opinion, no people, but a crowd,¹—the popu-

¹ The Statutes of Clarendon, 1164, Jan. 25, the murder of Becket, 1170, Dec. 29, the demand of the archbishop and barons at St. Edmonsbury, 1214, Nov. 20, and their compact with the king at Runnymede, Magna Charta, 1215, Jan. 15—tell of temporary resistance to papal avarice, and the enormous claim of the Roman Church to supremacy above all human authority, to the exclusive power of defining her jurisdiction as to where her own province ends and the state's begins,—more than an *imperium in imperio*, an *imperium super imperium*,—a claim as insolently made now and here as then and there. The relief was to the "clergy" and the barons,

lace, a herd, whose owners were the bishop and the king. These institutions were not considered as means to the common welfare, but only to the benefit of the few.

Our American principles of government would have been considered as worthy of pandemonium. The rights of conscience, recognized and protected by our constitutional law, so that no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification for any office or public trust ; freedom of speech and freedom of the press ; the free exercise of any religion without any "establishment" ; that all religious societies, sects, and denominations shall ever have the right to elect their pastors and teachers, and shall be equally under the protection of the law, and have no legal preference of one over another, axioms in our politics, would, even if dreamed of, have been held as the vagaries of enthusiasts, fatally subversive of all order and private or public safety.

Within memory, the Declaration of Independence, which is declared in the able commentary of Dr. Farrar¹ to be "the law of the land," has been called a declaration of "sounding and glittering generalities" ; but the defeat of "our misguided brethren" in the late Rebellion has vindicated and established that great charter. It was in that faith the great contest was waged and won. The pioneers of the forlorn hope of freedom die in dungeons or on the scaffold ; but after ages build monuments to them as to the friends of humanity.

To the crouching timidity of the conservatives of his time, Milton answered, "We must not run, they say, into sudden extremes. . . . If it be found that those two extremes be vice and virtue, falsehood and truth, the greater the extremity of virtue and superlative truth we run into the more virtuous and the more wise we become ; and he that, flying from degenerate and traditional corruption, fears to shoot himself far into the meeting embraces of a divinely warranted Reformation, had better not have run at all. And for the suddenness it cannot be feared,

not to the multitude, who had no conscious life : there were no people ; there were villeins without voice or lot in the matter. Prof. Stubb's *Constitutional History of England*, § 132. So it continued, not much for the better in law or in fact, till the first popular constitutional convention was convened in New England, November $\frac{1}{2}$, 1620.

¹ *Manual of the Constitution*, §§ 231-232.

Who should oppose it? The papists? They dare not. The protestants otherwise affected? They were mad. . . . Our brethren of the reformed churches abroad ventured (God being their guide) out of rigid popery into that which we in mockery call precise puritanism, and yet we see no inconvenience befall them. Had it not been the obstinate perverseness of our prelates against the divine and admirable spirit of Wicliffe, to suppress him as a schismatic and innovator, perhaps neither the Bohemian Husse and Jerome, no, nor the name of Luther or of Calvin, had ever been known: the glory of reforming all our neighbors had been completely ours. But now, as our obdurate clergy have with violence demeaned the matter, we are become hitherto the latest and the backwardest scholars of whom God offered to have made us the teachers."

As the basis of a hierarchy is dogma and authority, it is incompatible with the spirit of inquiry, freedom of thought, and intellectual progress; it is intolerant, and therefore cruel. As established in England, the spirit of bigotry, of despotism, asserted itself. The reaction was soon felt. The movement was retrogressive towards Rome. The Church of England was sliding back into the depths.

As early as 1589, Lord Bacon noted that "some indiscreet persons have been bold . . . to use dishonorable and derogatory speeches and censure of the churches abroad, and that so far, some of our men [as I have heard] ordained in foreign parts, have been pronounced to be no lawful ministers," and he also censures the wrongs of the established hierarchy towards them as not to "be dissembled or excused."¹ So narrow had they become that Laud opposed aid to the banished ministers of the palatinate because they were Calvinists and Presbyterians and called Rome antichristian, for if Rome could not "confer sacerdotal power in ordination, and the English Church had no orders but what she derives from Rome," what must follow? Had the prelate forgotten the irresistible argument of Chillingworth, that the chance of true ordination in the Church of Rome is "even cousin-german to impossible," and that it is

¹ *Works of Lord Bacon.* Spedding's edition, i, 84-89.

"plainly impossible that any man should be so much as morally certain either of his own priesthood or any other man's"?¹

— "Whatever link you strike,
Tenth or ten thousandth, breaks the chain alike."

But there was in the strife the new element already alluded to,—the political aspects of the Reformation. When the same head, virtually, wore the mitre and the crown, and the same hand wielded the crozier and the sword, then, by necessity, the laity, the people, became a political power, the party of reform, of progress, if need be, of revolution, and steadily gained till Independency — manhood — abolished the mitre and the crown, and placed Cromwell at the head of the Commonwealth. With what rapture did Milton witness the resurrection! "Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks; methinks I see her an eagle reviving her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full mid-day beam; purging and unscaling her long-abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance; while the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds, with those also that love the twilight, flutter about amazed at what she means, and in their envious gabble would prognosticate a year of sects and schisms."

"'Shorn hypocrites, the psalm-singers, gloomy bigots,' such were the names," says Taine, by which men who reformed the manners and renewed the constitution of England were insulted. But oppressed and insulted as they were, their work [Reformation] continued of itself . . . and under the insensible progress of national sympathy, as well as under the incessant effort of public reflection, parties and doctrines were to rally around a free and moral Protestantism."²

But for the Puritans, the Inquisition would have sunk England to a level with Spain and Italy. Listen to Milton again: "If to bring a numb and chill stupidity of soul, an inactive

¹ Neal's *Puritans*, i, ch. v. *The Religion of Protestants*, Bohn's Ed. 1846, pp. 114-116, 448.

² *Areopagitica*, Bohn's Ed. ii, 94. *The Renaissance*, Milton. Taine's *English Literature*, New York Ed. 1872, i, 408.

blindness of mind upon the people, by their leaden doctrine or no doctrine at all ; if to prosecute all knowing and zealous Christians by the violence of their courts, be to keep away schism indeed ; and by this kind of discipline, all Italy and Spain is as purely and practically kept from schism as England hath been of them. With as good plea might the dead palsy boast to a man, It is I that free you from stitches and pains, and the troublesome feelings of cold and heat, of wounds and strokes ; if I were gone, all these would molest you. . . . Where are those schismatics [Puritans] with whom the prelates hold such hot skirmish ? Show us your acts, those obvious annals, which your [High Commission and Star Chamber] courts of loathed memory, lately deceased, have left us. . . . They are only such . . . as are offended with your lawless government, your ceremonies, your liturgy, an extract of the mass book translated. But that they should be contemners of public prayer, and churches used without superstition, I trust God will manifest ere long to be a false slander . . . A tympanum of Spaniolized bishops swaggering in the foretop of the State . . . no marvel though they think it as unsafe to commit religion and liberty to their care as to a synagogue of Jesuits."

Thus was evoked the spirit which culminated in the glorious Commonwealth. Macaulay places the Parliament of 1640 among "the great eras in the history of the civilized world," and adds, "whatever of political freedom exists either in Europe or in America has sprung, directly or indirectly, from those institutions which they secured or reformed ;" and adds, "We never turn to the annals of those times without feeling increased admiration of the patriotism, the energy, the decision, the consummate wisdom which marked the measures of that great Parliament, from the day on which it met to the commencement of civil hostilities. Every reason which can be urged in favor of the revolution of 1688 may be urged with at least equal force in favor of what is called the great rebellion." Even Robert Southey says, "I have more respect for the Independents than for any other body of Christians, the Quakers excepted ; their English history is without a blot." Be it remembered, all the while, that this Independency, till then vague, only a dream, as a tangible thing and a successful experiment,

and the Commonwealth as its daughter, must date from Plymouth.¹

The same power which, with characteristic treachery to the spirit of the Reformation, lifted Laud to authority as the exponent, the very soul of the Episcopal movement, persisted in a scheme whose purpose was equally treasonable to the state. Our limits permit only a brief review of the course of events; but recently published documents open the secrets of the times, and vindicate the sagacity and statesmanship that saved England and the world from a relapse into mediæval darkness.

¹ "The church, if a convention of clergymen making canons must be called by that name," is the concise definition of the hierarchal church, given by John Locke, the Independent, and pupil of John Owen, in his letter on toleration, written in exile, but published in England in the year of the second Revolution. The very opposite of this is the theory of Independency, Congregationalism, voluntary combination. "The principle of religious liberty is almost logically bound up with the theory of the independency of particular churches," says Mr. Masson (in his *Life of Milton and his Times*, iii, 99), and it is the fundamental principle of American government.

This polity of the strong men—Goodwin, Owen, Peter Vane, Milton, Cromwell, and their fellows—to whom, under God, was confided the immediate future of England as well as permanent influence on the spirit of her laws and government, was moulded in the freer life and thought of New England by their correspondents and fellow-workers, Cotton, Williams, Hooker, and the like,—a fresh field of inquiry for one who would relish the duty suggested by Mr. Carlyle, to hunt up "the interesting reciprocities and mutualities between New England and her old mother, which ought to be disentangled, to be made conspicuous and beautiful,"—a work which these pages may initiate.

J. WINGATE THORNTON.

Boston.

[To be continued.]



Payson Memorial Church, Portland, Me.

PORTLAND CHURCHES.

THE old times and the new! As we look upon the above picture, we may do well to recall the period when Portland was but a fishing village, and the only sanctuary was a one-story house, without seats and without glass windows.

Although first settled in 1632 by Cleeves and Tucker, there were in 1718 but twenty families on the Neck, now Portland. Rev. George Burroughs, a graduate of Harvard College in the class of 1670, preached a while to the inhabitants, but was not settled when the town was destroyed in 1676. He had a grant of seven acres near where the City Hall now stands, and in 1683 exchanged it for a lot near the Fort. Mr. Burroughs was executed for witchcraft in 1692, at Salem,—a clergyman of unexceptionable character. The first settled minister, Rev. Thomas Smith, began in 1727 his ministry of sixty-seven years.

The little unfurnished building on the corner of Middle and India Streets was the only place of worship till 1740, when another small wooden edifice, with windows, but without tower or steeple, was erected where now the First Parish Church (Unitarian) stands. This was an improvement on the other, yet a cheerless place in winter. Parson Smith's journal, under date of Sunday, Dec. 15, 1782, has this item: "Most horrid cold and windy. I could not stand it, but dismissed the people after praying and singing." Probably his prayer was shorter than usual, for under another date he writes, "I had extraordinary assistance; was an hour and a half in prayer A. M., and above an hour P. M." His colleague, Deane, writes, Jan. 6, 1788, "Violent cold; water for baptism froze over." When Mr. Smith was settled, the population of the Neck was but two hundred and fifty, and his salary seventy pounds, board and fuel, with "contribution of strangers."

The burden of supporting two pastors, and the cost of repairing the meeting-house, led, in 1787, to the discussion of a new society. Parson Smith writes, Sept. 12, 1787, "The Separatists voted themselves off." "Oct. 3. One Kellogg came here to preach to the Separatists." Again, "'Hard times, no money, no business,' is the general cry;" and once more, in his eighty-sixth year, he adds, "Poor Portland is plunged into ruinous confusion by the separation."

The innocent disturber of peace, "one Kellogg," was a native of South Hadley, and had been a drum-major in the battles of the Revolution, and afterwards a saw-mill laborer while at Dartmouth College. He thus fought his way to the pulpit; but, to use his own phrase, "it took five dollars to buy a mug of flip," so much had the currency depreciated. Elijah the senior put his boy Elijah to Latin at ten years of age, but found his hands full. The spirit that sent the father to Bunker Hill at sixteen lived in the son, who horrified the good man one Sunday morning by exclaiming that Hercules did a deal more good killing dragons and cleaning stables than Doddridge ever did with his old *Rise and Progress*. The old gentleman hurried off to church and requested prayers in behalf of his son. The readers of the *Quarterly* are familiar enough with the sequel. His fiery nature was changed, and he yet lives to preach and write books for boys. Of Portland he says:—

" Still may I love, be loved of thee,
My own fair city of the sea !
Where moulders back to kindred dust
The mother who my childhood nursed,
And strove with ill-requited toil
To till a rough, ungrateful soil ;
Yet kindly spared by Heaven to know
That Faith's reward is sure, though slow ;
And see the prophet's mantle grace
The rudest scion of her race."

The Second Church was gathered, fifteen members, first in the North school-house by the burying-ground. They moved to the court-house, latterly a soap-factory on Green Street. The society was incorporated March 17, 1788. On Sunday, Sept. 28, 1788, the new edifice on Middle Street was opened, temporary seats being used, the pews not being ready. The following Thursday, Oct. 1, Mr. Kellogg was ordained. Rev. Mr. Thatcher, of Boston, "delivered a sensible and elegant discourse." Mr. Willis says that the ardent, earnest style of young Kellogg, "so different from the tame and quiet preaching to which they had been accustomed, aroused the whole community, and wellnigh prostrated the old society." After the building of the stone church, 1825, the First Parish resumed its wonted strength. Mr. Kellogg owned a part of Munjoy, and about eighty years ago gave the first impulse to that taste for planting trees which made Portland the "Forest City."

Rev. Edward Payson, D. D., was ordained as colleague, Dec. 16, 1807, and from Dec. 4, 1811, was sole pastor of the church till Oct. 22, 1827, when he died at the age of 47. He was followed by Rev. Bennett Tyler, D. D., late president of East Windsor Seminary; Rev. Joseph Vaill, D. D.; Rev. Jonathan B. Condit, D. D., of Auburn Theological Seminary, N. Y.; and the present pastor, Rev. J. J. Carruthers, D. D., who was installed Aug. 9, 1846. In 1825 a colony was organized into the Third Church, and in 1831 fifty-seven members were organized into the High Street Church. In 1835 the Abyssinian, or Fourth Congregational Church, Newbury Street, was formed by the colored members of the Second Church. In 1852 members from the three senior churches were organized into the State Street Church. The Bethel Church was formed in 1840; the St. Lawrence Street Church, 1858; the West Church, 1862; the Plymouth, 1869, of the Third

[April,

and Central; and Williston, 1873. On the night of July 4, 1866, during the memorable Portland fire, the Bethel, the Second, and the Third Parishes lost their houses of worship, and no Congregational place of worship was left in the central part of the city. On the 13th the Second church and society voted to accept the offer of State Street Church as a temporary place of worship, but to build on a new site another edifice as soon as practicable. The pastor and more than sixty-five families of the parish lost their houses and homes by the great fire, the pastor being dangerously ill at the time. The insurance was almost entirely lost by the failure of the local office, and the work of erection proceeded slowly, the corner-stone being laid July 4, 1868, the second anniversary of the memorable fire. By the sale of the old site, now surrounded with warehouses and stores, by local subscriptions and donations, and by generous contributions from abroad, including about \$10,000 collected by the pastor, the society has been encouraged to put up a substantial brick building, with a granite front,—the latter, from peculiar circumstances, secured at a smaller cost than one of pressed-brick and free-stone facings. The name chosen for the edifice was regarded as eminently appropriate. Under date of Sept. 11, 1866, Rev. Dr. George E. Adams wrote to the pastor as follows:—

“I cannot refrain from expressing to you my unfeigned satisfaction in learning that the Second Parish Church of Portland, over which you yourself, permit me to say, have so long presided with such distinguished faithfulness and ability, and which has enjoyed the labors of so many learned and godly pastors before your time, is not to become extinct on account of the late disastrous fire. I am particularly pleased with the name proposed for the house of worship about to be erected,—‘The Payson Memorial Church.’ The spiritual blessings conferred on the churches of our State by the preaching, the prayers, and, not least, through the liberal gifts of the good old Second Parish, particularly through the medium of the Maine Missionary Society, have been very great. The land, the Christian world, have felt the beneficial power of the Second Parish Church and its ministry, and ought not to let the church or the name of Payson die.”

By the courtesy of the First Parish, the Second Church had, for nearly two years, a place of worship. The Sabbath-school and social meetings, after various migrations, assembled in the rooms of the Young Men’s Christian Association. Had the pastor’s health permitted a continuance of his labors in collect-

ing funds, the whole sum requisite for the completion of this undertaking might before this time have been procured ; but the society are encouraged to believe that many Christians interested in this work may yet be willing to forward, without personal solicitation, their contributions to aid in completing the house. The lecture-room was dedicated on Fast Day, April 15, 1860, the pastor preaching the sermon. This spacious room has since been occupied by the Sabbath-school, and for Sabbath and week-day services.

Bonds to the amount of \$12,000 have been issued recently, which are to run twenty years. This amount covers present arrearages ; and \$10,000 more, to be realized from the sale of the pews, it is thought will be sufficient to complete the house, making its cost about \$75,000. There will be seats for 1,200 in 134 pews and in the galleries ; two wall and two side aisles ; and the ceiling, a simple panel arch, is 34 feet above the floor. The house is 73 by 90 feet, from which two towers project, one 80 feet high, and the other terminating in a beautiful lancet spire 175 feet high, with gables surmounting the bell tower. There are three entrances, one central and one from each tower. The façade is much admired. The material is white Hallowell granite ; and the two arcades of five arches, the lower 17 feet high and the upper crowned with a moulded cornice supported by a corbel course, are mounted by a foliated cross 77 feet from the ground. Mr. Fassett, of Portland, is the architect. An early disposal of the bonds will secure a speedy completion of the work.

Were a motive needed to aid in securing this long delayed result, it might well be supplied in the words of Mr. Kellogg, of Boston : —

“ How many, both living and dead, have at her altar felt and submitted to the power of a spiritual faith ! How many in that armory, having girded on the harness, have gone forth to bear in other fields the burden and heat of the day, and put their shoulders to new enterprises of faith and love ! She is the mother of us all, and as surely as he that watereth is watered shall she continue to increase. Peace be within thy walls, prosperity within thy palaces ! Thy neck is like the tower of David, builded for an armory, wherein there hang a thousand bucklers, all shields of mighty men.”

EDWARD PAYSON THWING.

Portland, Me.

SECOND SERIES.—VOL. VI. NO. 2.

18

**MAY A WOMAN SPEAK IN A PROMISCUOUS
RELIGIOUS ASSEMBLY?¹**

THE discussion of this subject in the Brooklyn Presbytery, the action of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church and of the Methodist Episcopal General Conference, has led the writer to a somewhat earnest and careful examination of the question.

Let him premise that, notwithstanding his high appreciation of woman, he must go with Paul, the inspired apostle, if need be, against the whole sex; but he must know precisely what Paul said, and what he meant.

Here, in the very outset, he is met with a difficulty. If Paul said precisely what our English version makes him say, and what many of the commentators affirm that he did say, then Paul is against Peter and the prophet Joel and some rather stubborn facts relative to the pious women in the days of the Acts of the apostles. Peter says (Acts ii : 16-17), "But this is that which was spoken by the prophet Joel, And it shall come to pass in the last days, saith God, I will pour out of my spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your *daughters* shall prophesy, and your young men shall see visions, and your old men (*τρεσβούσποι*) shall dream dreams."

Does Paul say they should not do what Joel, as interpreted by Peter, says they would do under a spiritual baptism, in the

¹ This article was prepared for the press within a month after the celebrated discussion in the Brooklyn Presbytery, relative to the admission to the pulpit of the Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian Church, of Miss Sarah F. Smiley.

But the author soon found that the freedom of the press in this country consists in the liberty of any man to print what he can pay for, or the furnishing of such articles as will increase the subscription list, or such as chime in with the views and long-established sentiments of the conductors and supervisors of the press. Hence the delay of its publication till it found a place in Free Congregational New England.

He commenced the examination merely to satisfy his own mind, hitherto somewhat dubious on the subject. Having very satisfactorily accomplished that with the results to which he was led, it occurred to him, that if his investigation were thrown into type, it might help to remove similar doubts from other minds laboring in the same way. For this purpose it is given to the public. If it is true, it will stand; if erroneous, let sincere inquirers after truth and critical scholars point out the error; and he will rejoice in the truth, though he stands convicted of error.

Christian dispensation? But what makes the matter still worse, Paul is against Paul. For in 1 Corinthians, xi: 4-5, he says, "Every man praying or prophesying, having his head covered, dishonoreth his head. But every *woman* PRAYING or PROPHESYING with her head uncovered, dishonoreth her head." Now, if neither the men nor the women did pray or prophesy, the sentence is absurd,—a word spoken into the air. The fact is implied that the women, as well as the men, did pray and prophesy; and the direction to do it in a modest and womanly manner involves an approval of the praying and prophesying. There is no evading or escaping this conclusion.

If he had sent this direction to Corinth, and found afterwards that it was best to stop the women's talk altogether, and sent another Epistle to that effect, there might have been a consistency in it; but here these things are in the same Epistle, written at the same time, not three chapters apart,—Paul against Paul, as he is interpreted I have too profound a respect for Paul as a logician — not to speak of his inspiration — to admit that.

There is still another difficulty. Did the Holy Ghost contradict, through Paul, what he had declared through Joel and Peter? Did he forbid the women to do what he declares they would do through his own inspiration?

The word of God cannot be inconsistent with itself. Have not the translators made Paul say in English what he never did say in Greek? Let us examine, and go to the root of the matter.

Paul was a "Hebrew of the Hebrews, brought up at the feet of Gamaliel, thoroughly learned in the Jews' religion." Not only so, but thoroughly versed in the Jewish literature. His thoughts and ideas were Hebrew, but in the circumstances of his nation he was obliged to communicate his Hebrew thoughts through the Greek language. He was learned in that language also, far above the rest of the apostles and disciples, unless it was the beloved physician Luke. It may not then be "travelling out of the record" to go back of the Greek, even to the Hebrew, for a fair interpretation of the New Testament writers.

We find two Hebrew words, דָבַר (*dabār*) and אָמַר (*amār*), gen-

erally translated in English *speak* or *say*, seldom *tell*,—terms so nearly synonymous that few minds ordinarily recognize a difference. The shades of thought, however, expressed by the two Hebrew words are very different. To get at the use or precise meaning of these words, I have traced them through the whole book of Genesis. *Dabar* occurs as a verb *sixty-two*, and *amar* *six hundred and eleven*, times in this book. *Dabar* is used generally on important or unusual occasions, in solemn contracts, in grave consultations, or earnest discussions or pleadings.

1st. It means a mere use of voice, conveying no definite thought to the hearer, but only awakening attention.

As Gen. viii : 15. "And God spake (*dabār*) to Noah, saying" (*lamor*, the present participle of *amār*).

2d. To consult or discuss in an assembly, or between individuals, when the result or decision of the question under discussion is dubious or uncertain.

As Gen. xxiii : 8. "And he *communed* (*dabār*) with them, saying, If it be your mind," etc. Also Gen. xxxiv : 6, 8, 20. Hamor *communed* with Jacob, and *communed* with the men of the city (*dabār*).

3d. Deceptive speech, when there is an implied design to conceal the real thought or purpose from the hearer, or others.

As Gen. xxxiv : 13. "And the sons of Jacob answered Shechem and Hamor his father deceitfully," who they said (*veyedabaru*), or as rendered in our version, "because he had defiled Dinah, their sister." There seems to be an implied excuse for the deception, anger for the injury, and a concealed purpose of revenge, in the word *dabār*, in the form in which we find it here. Also as in Gen. xxxix : 10. "And it came to pass, as she spake (*dabarak*) to Joseph day by day." In verse 7: "And she said" (*amār* is the word), followed by the explicit words uttered; but here it is *dabār*, without the words spoken, but an implied, insinuating, half-concealed, guilty wish against the opposing will and arguments of Joseph, all in secret, to be concealed from all others.

4th. To wrangle or dispute, or a quarrelsome use of voice.

As Gen. xxxvii : 4. "They hated him, and could not speak (*dabārō*) peaceably to him."

5th. To denote what had been before uttered as command or promise, without the repetition of the utterance.

As Gen. xii : 4. "So Abram departed, as the Lord had spoken" (*dabār*).

Dabār is almost uniformly translated by the Seventy in the Septuagint by the Greek word Λαλέω (*Lalleo*) in some of its forms.

Amar, on the contrary, is used generally in common conversation. Even when applied to God, it is in his most familiar intercourse with the patriarchs, or in his work of creation, as if

that were an easier and less important matter than some of his other works. "God said (*amar*), let there be light, and light was." What he said was immediately apparent and clear to the beholder or hearer. It is generally followed by what is said,—a clear, plain conveyance of edifying thought to the mind of the hearer, an awakening of truth or thought in his mind. The one brings into view the startling apparition of the speaker, the other awakens calm, clear vision in the mind of the hearer. The very common use of these Hebrew words in connection is as in Exodus xx : i :—

וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים אֵת פְּלִתְחָבָרִים תִּשְׁאַל
Vayyedabər Alōhīm āth kāl ha dābārim häälāh lämōr).

(*Vayyedabər Alōhīm āth kāl ha dābārim häälāh lämōr*). And God "worded" (speak) all these words, saying: then comes the specific commands under the term *amar*. The Seventy, with very few exceptions, have translated *amar* by the Greek word Εἰπώ (*eipō*), and the present participle *lamor* by Λεγων (*legown*). The New Testament writers have very generally followed this translation, using λαλεω where the Hebrews would *dabar*, and επω or λεγω instead of *amar*.

From this base or starting-point we proceed.

The classic use of Λαλεω, as given by Donnegan, is to speak, to talk, to prate, to prattle, to babble, to chatter, to twitter. The very root of the word λαλ, like the unmeaning lal, lal, lal, or first sounds from the tongue of a child, would seem to indicate its origin and meaning.

In the religion of the Greeks, their gods and goddesses might quaff their nectar, and prate and babble, as well as men and women, over their wine; but the Hebrew's religion would never permit him to predicate *prate* or *babble* of the utterances of his God, or Messiah, or his angels, or even of his inspired prophets, even though these utterances might be as incomprehensible and meaningless to him as the babble of gods or men.

This fact, together with the fact, which we may make apparent, that the term λαλεω is used in the New Testament, both in its Hebrew and classic senses, accounts for its very wide and seemingly almost contradictory use by the New Testament writers. It is well known by scholars that the Greek of Matthew,

Mark, and John was Hebrew-Greek,—Greek words, with Hebrew meanings, and their phrases often Hebraisms.

Matthew has used the word *λαλεω* in his Gospel twenty-five times, Mark seventeen times, John, in his Gospel and the Revelation, sixty-four times, Luke, in his Gospel and the Acts, seventy-six times.

Λαλεω is used by these writers with wonderful uniformity, in the Hebrew sense. It takes the place of *dabar*, and means,—

1st. A mere use of the voice, as in Matt. ix: 33, and xii: 22, and the parallel passages in the other Gospels. "And the dumb spake" (*ελαλησεν*). It is not related what he said, but simply that by the miracle he got the use of his voice. Matt. xii: 36. "Every idle word that men shall speak (*λαλησωσιν*)," etc., — meaningless or profitless babble.

2d. It is used in the sense of counselling or communing together. Acts xxvi: 31. "And when they were gone aside, they talked (*ελαλουν*) between themselves." Luke xxiv: 32. "Did not our hearts burn within us while he talked (communed) (*ελαλει*) with us by the way?"

3d. It is used where there is an expressed or implied design in the speaker not to convey plain and clear thought or truth to the mind of the hearer. See Matt. xiii: 3, 10, 13, 33, and 34; also parallel passages in the other Gospels. "And he spake (*ελαλησεν*) many things in parables." The disciples inquire, "Why speakest (*λαλεις*) thou to them in parables?" He answers, "Because it is given unto you to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, but to them it is not given. . . . Therefore speak (*λαλω*) I to them in parables." They are not in a state of mind to know the truth, therefore I purpose so to speak as not to convey it to them.

4th. It means to wrangle or discuss in a confused and bitter manner, without much development of truth to enlighten and edify. Mark ii: 7. "Why doth this man thus speak (*λαλει*) blasphemies," — babble out his impious talk. In those sharp discussions — and, on the part of his opponents, bitter retorts — recorded in chapters seventh to twelfth inclusive, of John's Gospel, the word occurs *twenty-seven* times.

5th. It is often used in allusion to what had before been uttered, without a repetition of it, or giving any clear idea of its

import. As Luke xxiv: 6. "Remember how he spake ($\varepsilon\lambda\alpha\lambda\eta\sigma\varepsilon$) unto you when he was yet in Galilee." John xviii: 21. "Ask them that heard me, what I said ($\varepsilon\lambda\alpha\lambda\eta\sigma\alpha$)."
ix: 29. "We know that God spake ($\lambda\varepsilon\lambda\alpha\lambda\eta\kappa\alpha$) unto Moses." xii: 41. "When he saw his glory and spake ($\varepsilon\lambda\alpha\lambda\eta\sigma\varepsilon$)."

Now, what was Paul's use of the term? What did $\lambda\alpha\lambda\omega$ mean in his Epistles?

A writer in the "Bibliotheca Sacra," some two years since, whose article was the foundation of nearly all the arguments in the Brooklyn Presbytery really pertinent to the question, after giving the number of times it is used in the New Testament, says, "It can never be translated *babble* but once, and even then it is doubtful." The author of that very scholarly article certainly could not have examined very critically the passages in which it occurs, or he would not have made so sweeping and so erroneous an assertion.

To find, if possible, Paul's meaning beyond all mistake, I have jotted down chapter, verse, and sentence, where the words *speak*, *say*, and *tell*, in any of their forms, occur in all his Epistles, from the first word of Romans to the last of Hebrews, and the Greek words of Paul thus translated. I find he used five Greek words, $\lambda\alpha\lambda\omega$, $\lambda\epsilon\gamma\omega$, $\varepsilon\pi\omega$, $\varepsilon\pi\omega$, and $\varphi\eta\iota\iota$. *Laleo* occurs sixty-four times, almost uniformly translated *speak*; *legow*, eighty-seven times, generally translated *say*, sometimes *speak*; *eiro*, twenty-three times, generally translated *say*; *eipo*, eight times, *say*; *phemi*, five times, *say*. Paul seems generally to have used $\lambda\epsilon\gamma\omega$ where the Septuagint translators would have used $\varepsilon\pi\omega$, instead of the Hebrew word *amar*. These five Greek words, quite different in their shades of meaning, are virtually covered in our translation by one English word, *speak* or *say*. To this infelicity—almost a necessity in translating from one language to another—this covering so many words with one, is doubtless owing the obscurity, confusion, and controversy on this subject. As $\lambda\alpha\lambda\omega$ and $\lambda\epsilon\gamma\omega$ are the only two words really pertinent to the main question before us, we drop the other three. What did Paul mean by these two words?

To examine them in all the passages in Paul's Epistles where they occur would expand this article to a volume. We call attention to a few of these passages. Romans iii: 19, it is written,

"Now we know that what things soever the law saith (*λεγει*), it saith (*λαλεῖ*) to them who are under the law," etc. The definite and precise use of the two Greek words, with their forcible and opposite shades of meaning, is all lost in our translation, by the use of only one word. To an angel, or Christian conformed to law, its voice is plain, clear, sweet, calm, enlightening the soul ; but to the transgressor it has quite another voice. It wrangles, commands, confuses, terrorizes, "till," as Paul says, "sin taking occasion by the *utterance*, works in me all manner of concupisence,"—bitter opposition. Romans vii : 1. "For I speak (*λαλεῖ*) to them that know the law." At first view it would seem that he should have used *λεγω* or *εἰπω*, the statement is so plain ; but he simply asserts that he was using his voice, and that in argument. It is as if he had said, "I am *discussing* or *arguing* these controverted questions, before those not entirely ignorant on this subject." 1 Corinthians, xii : 30. "Do all speak (*λαλοῦσι*) with tongues ?" Babble, neither themselves nor others knowing what the utterances are. 1 Cor. xiii : 1. "Though I speak (*λαλεῖ*) with the tongues of men and of angels, . . . and have not charity (love), I am nothing." Though I *babble* in all the babbling languages of earth and heaven without love, the ground of sincerity, that gives force and weight to words, with all this learning it is only babble after all. For the want of a "spiritual baptism," how much such babble there is in the prayer-meetings, and even in the pulpit ! 1 Cor. xii : 11. "When I was a child, I spake (*ελαλοῦν*) as a child,"—*prattled* words with little weight or meaning.

1 Cor. xiv : 29. "Let the prophets speak (*λαλεῖτωσαν*) two or three, and let the others judge." This is really the strongest passage against the women that has come to my notice ; therefore I quote it. Only five verses after this (34), it is said of the women, "It is not permitted unto them to speak (*λαλεῖν*)."
It would seem at first view to settle the question. The prophets (the men) are permitted to *λαλεῖν*, the women not. Let us examine the passage a little more closely. "Let two or three of the prophets speak in order, one at a time, and let the others judge." There was evidently a doubt in the case whether these prophets were really moved by the Holy Ghost in these utterances, or, self-deceived perhaps, were only giving utter-

ance to their own unedifying imaginations or fancies ; of that matter, "the others were to judge." Till that can be decided, therefore, in the Hebrew sense of λαλεω, let him "*word*" his dubious words, or in the Greek sense, let him babble for the time being.

But, as is said in the following verse (30), "If anything be revealed to another that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace." If there is an inspired message more certain and edifying, let this dubious talk, this unedifying babble, cease. If there had been no doubt of the inspiration of the prophet, Paul would probably have used the word, "Let the prophets prophesy ($\pi\tau\varphi\eta\tau\epsilon\pi\tau\omega\sigma\alpha\nu$) ; but with the doubt he uses λαλει\ωσαν, as the appropriate word ; so that this passage, even, confirms the fact of the restricted sense of λαλεω. It does not mean to *speak*, in our large and general sense of that term in English. The men as well as the women are cautioned against that kind of speaking or talk (λαλια) in the assemblies.

We might multiply such examples of Paul's use of these terms. Indeed, quite generally, in his Epistles to the Greek churches, it would be no violation of the sense or the argument, although it might be inelegant, to translate λαλεω as from its classic use, *gabble, babble, prate, wrangle*, or by a somewhat milder term, according to its connection. When the apostle addressed his Greek congregations, by word or epistle, it would be very natural for him to expect them to understand his words in their classic sense, and to so use them himself.

In the noted 1 Cor. xiv, λαλεω, in some of its forms, occurs twenty-four times, λαλω only three times. There seems to have been a state of things in that Corinthian church that made that word, λαλεω, singularly apposite and appropriate, so that the apostle could think of no other word so adapted to the confusion and disorders. There were sectarian divisions and controversies, "some for Paul, and some for Apollos" ; envyings ; "law-suits before the ungodly" ; discussions about meats used in an idol's temple ; contentions about the relative merits of spiritual gifts ; at the very communion-table, some drunken and some thirsty ; and the boldest of the Corinthian women, with uncovered heads, sadly mixed up in these discussions and disorders.

But the women were not the only members of the church reprobated by the apostle, and commanded to keep silence. In the 28th verse it is written, "If there be no interpreter (of the unknown tongue), let *him* keep silence (*σιγατω*)"; again, in verse 30, "Let the first hold his peace (*σιγατω*)," the same word that is applied to the women in verse 34. Did that mean perpetual silence, as some affirm it does of the women? The context shows it to be only temporary, and from a certain kind of talk not edifying to the church (*λαλια*), the babble of foreign tongues. By what rule of logic is it partial and temporary in one case, and general and perpetual in the other? The confusion had been made principally by the men, and the apostle's rebukes were chiefly to them, with the reason for it, in the 33d verse, which is connected with the preceding verse by a "yag (for) God is not the author of confusion, but of peace, as in all churches of the saints." I know some scholars and some Greek editions of the Testament punctuate the passage so as to make it read, "As in all the churches, let your women of the saints keep silence in the churches"; but that seems to me to make a bungling sentence, both in the Greek and the English, and to savor a little of special pleading against the women. The drift of thought seems more natural and easy with the punctuation of our common version.

Then comes the paragraph introducing the new subject relative to the women, verse 34. "Let your women keep silence (*σιγατωσαν*), for it is not permitted unto them to speak (*λαλειν*) in the assemblies, but to be in subjection (*αλλαχπο: ασσεσθαι*); the interpolation, "they are *commanded*," thrown in by the translators, only lumps the sentence and obscures the sense, and is rendered unnecessary by the phrase, "as saith the law,"—the law in Eden, "Thy desire shall be to him, and he shall rule over thee,"—the law of nature. There is great expository force in the antithesis in the passage, "BUT to be in subjection." It implies that the *λαλει* was a kind of insubordinate talk. Had a modest, loving woman only poured out her soul in prayer, or told what Jesus had done for her, or spoken of his wonderful love and salvation to all, male and female, "waiting for the redemption of Israel" in the assembly, as Anna did in the temple, there could have been no insubordination in that; and

if Paul had wished to prohibit that kind of speaking he would not have written *ἄλλα* (*but*), making the antithesis, but *γαρ* (*for*) she is a woman ; but if it was insubordinate wrangle, or profitless discussion with the men, the antithesis is pat and wonderfully appropriate, and shows very clearly what *λαλεῖν* meant.

The sophism at the foundation of this whole controversy is a literary curiosity. It consists in translating a Greek word,—(*λαλεῖν*) restricted in its use to certain kinds of speaking, excluding certain other kinds, such as plain, edifying discourse in a religious meeting, such as to pray (*προσευχέσθαι*), to prophesy (*προφητεύειν*) (exhort), to preach (*χηρουσθεῖν*) (or, herald the gospel),—by an English word that includes them all, thus lugging into the conclusion what was not named in the major premise,—a sophism so insidious and occult as not to have been noticed by translators or commentators till it has been wrought into a law, under the endorsement of great names ; till, in the eye of the strictest of the sect of followers, it has become sacrilegious and presumptuous to doubt it. Our Protestantism allows us not to believe in the divine inspiration of the translators or commentators of our English Bible, or in the infallibility of the pope, or in a pope at all in the Protestant Church, but to use our liberty of private interpretation, and to go behind the great and authoritative interpreters in the church and inquire of Paul himself what he meant.

There is absolutely no single English word that can convey adequately the import of *λαλεῖν*, in all the circumstances and relations in which it is found in the New Testament, covering, as it does, both the Hebrew and Greek usage of the term. The general or primary idea underlying this term in both these usages, as brought to view in this investigation or discussion, is a simple use of the voice, present or past, without what was uttered, or a use of the voice unintelligibly,—unenlightening, unedifying to hearer or reader. Now, if instead of trying to cover five Greek words with one English word, we are allowed ten English words, — *talk, prate, babble, prattle, gabble, wrangle, argue, dispute, discuss, teach, or speak authoritatively*, — we may, by translating into one of them, give the force of the term in all its connections in the New Testament.

But what does it mean in this disputed passage, 1 Cor. xiv :

34? To my mind, the case is already made out. It is as if the apostle had said to the Corinthian church, There is discussion and confusion enough among you made by the men, without adding a woman's voice to it. Let your women keep silence from all this babble and wrangling. The responsibility is not placed upon them to discuss in public these disputed questions, but to submit, with more deference and modesty, to the judgment and opinions of the men, and if they will learn anything of these questions, let them inquire it out of their husbands at home, for it is a shame for a woman to prate and gabble to no profit or edification in the assembly. These English terms are not elegant, but expressive; while the Greek terms *λαλεῖν*, and the noun *λαλία*, are very soft and musical, and must have sounded so on the Grecian ears of those Corinthian ladies, when the Epistle was first read in the church.

This is just what Paul said, and all he said; and, I believe, just what he meant, and all he meant. Let Paul speak for himself, in his own precise and musical Greek, and it spikes every gun, and silences the whole battery that has so long made so much smoke and noise against the most pious, godly, active Christian women in the church, lest they should open their lips in prayer, or for Christ and his salvation, in a promiscuous Christian assembly.¹

Still, behind this battery lies the Malakoff, the strong fortress against the women invasion, in 1 Timothy ii: 11-12. "Let the women learn in silence, with all subjection. But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence." We do not propose (in military phrase) to try to turn this fortress, but to march up to it in front, and reconnoitre it a little, at all events.

¹ A recently returned missionary from the field where Paul once labored, remarked, "If the Brooklyn Presbytery had been in one of our religious meetings, they would have known what Paul meant. The Greek women are now, as of old, very excitable, perpetually asking questions, given to talking often to the disturbance of the meetings. In plain English, Paul told them to stop their gabble." It was somewhat gratifying to find that I had before come to the same conclusion, without reference to this peculiarity of the Grecian women, by the careful study of Paul's Greek. Professor Potwin, of Western Reserve, Ohio also, afterwards called my attention to an article by Mrs. Cowles, in the Boston *Congregationalist*, with a quotation from one of Chrysostom's homilies, showing the same fact.

Timothy was probably at Ephesus when this Epistle reached him,—a somewhat uproarious city, under the influence of Demetrius; and the women, as appears from Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians, a little inclined to the same habits of insubordination with their sisters in Corinth. It does not appear, however, that this direction to Timothy had any reference whatever to their speaking in public, but to their general deportment at home, abroad, everywhere.

"I will, therefore (verse 8), that men pray everywhere, lifting up holy hands without wrath and doubting" (*διαλογισμού*) (questioning, disputing). "In like manner also (and to the same end) that women adorn themselves in modest apparel, with shamefacedness and sobriety, not with broidered hair or gold, or pearls, or costly array; but (which becometh women professing godliness) with good works." Then follows the passage (verses 11–12), "Let the women learn in silence." It is not *σιγασσωσ* (keep silence) as in Corinthians, but *ησυχία* (quietness, tranquillity). It might have no reference whatever to public speaking, but freedom from all excitement, with subjection. "I suffer not (*επιτρέπω*) turn, or place not upon a woman the responsibility to teach." The word here is not *λαλεῖν* (so the argument from that word has no pertinency here), but *διδασκειν*, a verb used only *thirteen* times in all Paul's Epistles, and the noun, adjective, or participle derived from it only *twelve* times. The teacher (*διδασκαλος*) was a master, or one in authority,—the president of the assembly, the bishop or overseer of the church,—and his teaching authoritative, as asserting and defending the doctrines of the church. "I suffer not a woman to preside, and to teach authoritatively." That this is the thought, is made more apparent by the next phrase, "nor to usurp authority over the man (*αὐθεντεῖν*), but to be in quietness (*ησυχία*),"—to coin or anglicize a Greek word, to *authoritize* in any manner over the man. The English has it forcibly, "*usurp authority*": to do so is a usurpation.

To the Corinthian women the injunction is, silence from wrangling, and subjection: here it is freedom from teaching and "*authorizing*,"—quietness, a kind of positive and negative form of asserting the same thing. Paul does not found the injunction in either case, as some affirm, on the peculiar degra-

dation of the Grecian women, but on the nature and relation of the sexes from the beginning.

"For Adam was first formed, then Eve" (verse 13); she was the depending side-branch of the one dual man. "Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived was in the transgression" (14). It was very unwifely and unwomanly to hold that parley with Satan, and to do so momentous a thing without consulting her husband; had she consulted him, the affair might have resulted quite differently. In his manly indignation he might have hurled the lying, sneaking deceiver out of Paradise, and saved his Eve from her sad fall; but the confiding womanly mind was deceived. She had gone down. Now, with all his former experience of loneliness, must he stand alone again? The yearning of his manly heart was too much for his spiritual will; with his eyes open he went down for companionship. "He forsook father," even his Father in the heavens, "and clave to his wife." None of the race probably would have stood the test any better. Then came that paternal reproof, along with the promised restoration. It is as if God had said, You see the sad consequences of your rash act, not having consulted your husband in this; hereafter "thy desire shall be to him, and he shall rule over thee": "This is the law for thee and thy daughters in all their generations." On this *law*, on this radical difference by nature in the mental endowments of the two sexes, the apostle, in both instances, finds his injunction. Paul was a profound metaphysician. He knew the feminine mind was not, as a rule, adapted to teach either theology or science; that it required the masculine intellect to discipline and educate. To illustrate the difference, the learner comes with his unsolved difficulties, with no clear perception of what they are, to his MALE teacher, who, by questions and hints, only guides him to solve the problem himself: then he knows it, with the advantage of self-discipline and education in finding it out. He comes to his FEMALE teacher with his difficulties and discouragements. With a womanly heart, she pours into his ear all she knows about it. He thinks he has learned it, but he has not, and has gained no intellectual strength by the process, only a kindly heart towards his amiable teacher. Exceptions there doubtless are

to the general rule. We do sometimes find a man's head on a woman's shoulders, but it is a great misfortune to her.

The church in all its history has had didactic theology, ecclesiastical order, government, intellectual training enough, often too much. She has always failed, and just at the point where woman's mission comes in : in *heart-religion*, in simple trust,—“a faith that works by love.” Woman has not hitherto performed her part in the edification of the church, deterred perhaps, to some extent, by the “lords of creation,” or by those who “lord it over God's heritage.” Under a more powerful spiritual baptism, the church may be brought back to her primitive Christian simplicity, when her sons and her DAUGHTERS shall prophesy.

From what Paul has really written and said, we conclude, first, that Paul was not a “woman's rights man,” in the modern acceptation of that term. He would not have appointed a woman adjunct professor with Gamaliel, or president or professor of a college or theological seminary, or bishop of one of his churches, or ruling elder, if he had any such in his day, or attorney to wrangle in a judicial court, or member of Congress or Parliament to discuss questions of legislation, or general to lead armies in the field, or soldier to serve a cannon or handle a musket in battle. He plainly considered her of too delicate a mould mentally and physically for such drudgeries and perils. If her inquisitive intellect should lead her to desire knowledge on any or all these subjects, his direction is, or would have been, “Let her ask her husband at home,” or read the papers, “in quietness.”

We conclude, secondly, that Paul has never uttered one syllable, in epistle or by word, so far as the record shows, to prohibit a woman προσευχεσθαι (to pray), προφητεύειν (to utter God's messages), κηρυκεῖν τὸν εὐαγγέλιον (to herald the news of salvation) to a promiscuous Christian assembly, small or large, when constrained by the love of Jesus and of souls, under divine influence so to pray and exhort and preach; only she is to do it in a modest, womanly manner ; nor has Peter, nor James, nor John, nor Matthew, nor Mark, nor Luke, nor Moses, nor the Prophets. Even if the cases are exceptional to a general rule, it is a sufficient reason for the non-prohibition by the Holy Ghost through any of these writers. The whole Bible is in perfect harmony on

this point; and thereto agreeth the whole Christian world, except a few, constrained by an erroneous interpretation of Paul's utterances, rather against their better judgment; and thereto agreeth, also, all of the outside world who treat woman as the companion of man.

We conclude, thirdly, that the fears of some, lest the modern "woman's rights" spirit and insubordination should overwhelm the church, as the result of the admission of woman's right to speak, are entirely groundless. The class of women for whom we plead are not those who take the stump at political meetings. The latter do not, any more than "pot-house" politicians, originate in our most devotional prayer-meetings.

We conclude, fourthly, that the orders or dignities of the ordained ministry are in no great peril of invasion by lay or female evangelism. It was a high sense of official dignity, under divine appointment too, that crucified our Lord. Let us beware how "we offend one of his little ones."

The officers, or rather *servants*, of the church, have come into position as her exigencies required. Under the New Dispensation, first came apostles as witnesses of the resurrection, and to complete the canon of the Scriptures; that commission accomplished, this order followed the Levitical priesthood; then leaders or moderators in the Christian assemblies for prayer and mutual edification, and the proclamation of the Gospel, resulting in more permanent pastors or bishops; then for the care of the poor, deacons. (At Corinth ruling elders were evidently needed.) With all these, there were "some evangelists (travelling preachers, missionaries) and some teachers." "The great commission" was to every member of the whole church for all time. If now gifted laymen or women are called by the Holy Ghost to speak of the love of Jesus, and endowed with natural gifts and graces of the Spirit to win souls, by what authority does any man, or any body of men, forbid their heeding the Divine call?

H. LOOMIS.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

MAY WOMAN SPEAK IN MEETING?

THROUGH years I have watched with careful interest the arguments on both sides of the above question. Sometimes desiring to speak, sometimes having spoken, I find a personal interest in knowing whether or not God forbids the act.

And what I have seen and heard on the *pro* side of the subject has (with one exception) appeared so weak, such special pleading; has shown such ignorance of the Scriptures, and such light regard for their authority, as to their letter, that it scarcely needed the argument *against* woman's speaking to convince me that God did peremptorily and unqualifiedly forbid it. For, turning to my Bible, I soon discovered that I had been the subject of mistaken teachings,—

That the prohibition related to "business meetings," was what had been taught to me. It is astonishing that early teachings can so blind our eyes and minds that we can read over and over, for thirty years, plain Scripture requirements, yet never understand them.

No one with *open* eyes can read the fourteenth of Corinthians and the charges to Timothy, and believe for one moment in the *business* hypothesis.

The notion that only the church at Corinth was concerned in this particular command, falls quite as flat. Were *they only* under obligation to obey his *other* commands to them? Where have we authority to single out one command which we may disregard? When Paul did lay down rules for "present duties," he was careful to tell of it. If we *may* set aside so plain a command as this,—one several times repeated, with reason and comment,—what command may we not treat in the same manner?

Making a hole in this dike *here*, where would not the waters sweep us?

Most meetings of Christians in those days were held in private and secluded places; so Sabbath ministrations in the church *building* could not have been intended, as many seem to think they were. And the word '*Εκκλησία*' means "assembly," including any and every church meeting for religious communion and worship.

As such meetings *only* were the subject of Paul's discourse and directions at this time, *good sense* does not say that his words, literally taken, would silence women "teachers of schools," "the queen before her lords," etc.

As well say, because an apple *is* an apple, therefore a cherry is an apple too.

"Oh!" says one, "Paul never *could* have meant to silence the sweet voices of the sisters, so much needed, so useful in our meetings. Think how God has blessed woman's exhortations and preaching! Then Paul expressly said that *all might* speak, one by one; that all might learn and be comforted. He directed that women should pray with covered heads. Does this look like silencing them?"

My friend, are you a crab? Crabs go backward as well as forward.

Have you never read that Christ sent out his disciples with orders to go *only* to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, and that *afterwards* he sent them to *all the world*, to preach to every creature? This command will not be fully complied with until "every creature," every *creature*, the dumb animals and all, enjoy the blessings flowing from the Gospel. These *all* have an interest in its universal spread.

Is the *first* command above, or the second one, binding on us in these days?

Would you excuse your child for disobeying your strict command not to stir outside the door, because he should plead that the day *before* you had bid him not to go out without his hat?

As to the usefulness of woman's public ministrations, the Lord has no real *need* of *anybody's* services; and if he has seen fit to call for men to do certain things, and forbidden women to help, it is as much the place of both to *obey* as it was *their* place who were forbidden to stay up the ark, even if it was seemingly falling. And this seems a case exactly in point. That women exhorters and preachers are sometimes greatly prospered, proves only the mercy and patience of God. He is not strict to mark iniquity, nor blunders; and it is often his will to use the most sinful conduct to work out good results. Judah's dreadful sin, and Bathsheba's,¹ made them both ances-

¹ Bathsheba's brought her into the line from which our Lord came, and from her son Solomon He descended.

tors of the Christ. The command ! the command is the thing to look at. Have we *kept* or broken the command ?

"Paul's words, taken literally, would stop women from *singing* in the church."

Fie ! let us see. Light on Paul's idea may come from considering what he had always been accustomed to hear. Jewish women always aided the singing in the sanctuary ; the speaking, *never*.

The objections against speaking out alone do not apply to singing with the congregation. Singing, women, as well as men and children, were *repeatedly called upon to do*. Had Paul intended to put an end to women's singing, he would have felt obliged to make an express statement to that effect; as no people of *his time* would have supposed he meant *that*, when he told the women they must not speak, ask questions, nor teach in the churches. That they might "teach" elsewhere, the good woman who, with her husband, took Apollos aside to teach him the Word of God more perfectly, shows us. Teaching before an "assembly," which certainly *does* look like usurping authority over hearers, was what Paul forbade.

It did not please God to appoint women priests, or ministers, in his ancient nor in his modern church. He had and has other work, in plenty, for them to do. Dorcas found out what some of that work is ; and faithful mothers, wives, sisters, and friends are constantly finding out more of it. Their hands and hearts are full, without being called on to speak or pray in meetings. Heathen nations *had* women priests and ministers, who spake and prophesied and prayed and raved before their gods and before the assembled idolaters ; but the churches of the true God had "no such custom."

Christ, who might, had he seen fit, have appointed at least one or two women among "the twelve," or among "the seventy," appointed not *one* ; and never hinted that he should ever want one to preach. This, followed by Paul's clear, ringing command, surely *ought* to teach the church, effectually, that the Master did not want women for such work. For *He* was as good and true a friend to woman as she has in any man of to-day. He loved her company ; he loved to hear "her sweet voice," but he *did* seem to prefer to hear it where agitation

and excitement did not shake it into a mutter, worry it into a whine, nor hoist it into a screech. He was familiar with the best and most gifted women of his time,— women of wealth and high position *followed him about* and *helped to support him*. The sisters of Lazarus were intelligent, noble, splendid women ; and his mother ! what a grand genius was hers who sang the song of Mary on the hills of the Holy Land ! If mortal woman might preach with power and acceptance, *surely* it were these. But how “silent” they all were, and are, in the churches !

“Why, no ; some of them preached. There was Mary Magdalene, and the woman of Samaria. These were the first women preachers.”

Very well. There has never been a word of objection from any source against such informal “preaching” as this, if preaching it is. But remember that it was long *after* this the apostle issued his command, and that it hushed even *these* women in the churches. Because women may speak or preach on extraordinary occasions, does not prove that they may on ordinary ones, after they have been commanded to be in silence.

How any one who has made a careful examination of this command *can* wrest it, creep under or round it, or jump over it, as so many do, passes the writer’s comprehension.

“Why, in Christ,” say they, “there is neither male nor female.”

But *this* was just as true when Paul wrote as now.

“Well Scripture says that men and *women* shall prophesy and dream dreams, and that God’s spirit shall come on all flesh.”

True ; but Peter claimed that *this* was fulfilled in *his* day ; yet it was subsequently that Paul gave forth his command.

“T is no more binding than the one against woman’s wearing gold and costly clothes.”

Perhaps not ; but two wrongs never make a right. And moreover, the word *Kóρυος* used in these passages, not less than the citing, as examples, of what Peter *means*, the holy women of old, who were *loaded* with jewelry (Gen. 24: 22 and 53), seems to prove that the true idea, and the right translation of the passages would be to the effect that woman was not to make

outward adorning her "world," *i. e.* give undue importance to it. Would she might remember this. What goes still further to strengthen this view, is the fact that Scripture highly praises one woman for being richly clothed, after she had earned it. Prov. 31: 21-22. And, finally, the God that made woman and her love of the beautiful, himself delights in ornament and beauty. How doth He clothe the flower! and it is He who makes the gold, the precious stone, the costly fabric. Nor did the Saviour decline to wear a robe too valuable for the soldiers to be willing to rend, without seam, woven from top to bottom,— said to be very expensive, and without doubt the gift of some rich friend.

But as natural to the true woman as her love for beauty, is her instinct to shrink from public view. Her constitution, her nerves, her voice, all declare that the representative, the model woman, was never made for public efforts.

Poor babes! They know this truth,— the agonies of colic they have endured in consequence of their mother's idea that not to take up the cross by "speaking in meeting," was to "deny the Saviour." With cold feet, clammy hands, shaking limbs, and heart almost knocking them over, the poor victims of a false idea — nay, of neglect *understandingly* to study their Bible, the *only* true guide to the Lord's will—arose, whispered, squeaked, or screamed out (not one woman in ten can control her voice) something of their sorrow for their sins, their love for their Lord, and their desire to "be more faithful." Then dropping back into the seat, they tried to regain composure. But alas! baby had to reap the harvest. The commotion in the maternal heart was transferred to poor baby, and he kicked it back to his mother, through hours, perhaps, of a suffering night.

Common-sense upholds Paul's command. Paul's? He was *right* in bidding all to acknowledge it to be the command of God.

According to a distinguished clergyman of Brooklyn, the New Testament does not lay down rules for classes and sex. Has he never read the directions to women, young and old, in 1 Tim. 5, and Titus 2; where women are told that they *must* "teach," but not "in meeting"? Methinks woman's sphere and

work *are* distinctly pointed out in the New Testament, not, of course, in *all* particulars ; but the *nature* of her duties is indicated.

"Well, well," objects the only one who has force in his objection, — he is a brother of the sect which claims that they alone are Baptists, — "we *outgrow* commands. We are not in bondage to the letter. The letter, *we are told*, killeth. The spirit of obedience is all that is required of us."

Now, indeed, you shake things. How we *can* keep the spirit of a command intact, while breaking the letter of it, is not very clear ; but in face of "the letter killeth," we have no power to contend ; only *where*, on this ground, goes the pet idea of your denomination ? even if there *is* a letter to sustain it, which I cannot find either in English or in Greek. The one word, *Būtrw*, using which our Lord had cut off discussion, — except with such persons as cannot see that women are commanded not to talk in meetings, — *He never once used*, nor did his disciples, in speaking of baptism ; but *always* a word made from it, and used with various meanings, so that, with those who choose to contend about such things, argument may be endless. You are swept off the first thing, brother Baptist ; and we shall *all* find this setting aside the letter to be dangerous business. It sounds well to talk against exalting rules above principles ; but there are many who *need the rules to help them cling to the principles* ; many who need something fixed and stable ; an anchor that will *hold*, in their dreadful struggles with the world, the flesh, and the devil.

There are *other* commands whose letter they would fain break ; and *why not*, if they may break the letter of *this one* ? The law is one. How can it matter at which point it is broken ? Eve had as good reason to say "why not eat an apple ?" as we to say "why not woman speak in meeting ?" The thing most important involved in *either* prohibition, is the obeying or the disobeying.

Are we outgrowing the commands of the Bible ? Shall we let the letter of them go ?

AUGUSTA MOORE.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

THE FIRST "SUSQUEHANNAH ASSOCIATION";

A NOTE; PREPARED BY

D. WILLIAMS PATTERSON.

FEBRUARY 3, 1873.

FIRST PAPER:

Read by Rev. Jay Clibbe, of Newark Valley, N. Y., before the Susquehannah Association, at its meeting in Candor, N. Y., February 5, 1873.

WHEN Rev. Mr. Johnson read the History of the Susquehannah Association, he alluded to the pioneer association which bore the same name, but was unable to give the date of its organization.

The records of the first Church in Lisle show that Rev. Seth Williston was installed as pastor of that church on Wednesday, Oct. 19, 1803; and immediately following that record is this notice of the formation of that association:—

"Oct. 19th, the same day of the installation, there was an association of ministers and churches formed in this place, by the name of the Susquehannah Association. Deacon Osborn being chosen and empowered by the church subscribed in their behalf the Constitution of the Association."

The records give a full list of the members of the council which installed Mr. Williston, and there is very little doubt that every one of them was concerned in the formation of the Association. Some of their names are given by Hotchkin, pp. 70, 71; and he says, p. 72, that in July, 1811, it was announced that the Susquehannah Association had become extinct, etc., and gives the reasons.

N O T E S

RESPECTING THE HISTORY OF

THE FIRST SUSQUEHANNAH ASSOCIATION;

COMPILED BY

D. WILLIAMS PATTERSON.

FEBRUARY AND MAY, 1873.

S E C O N D P A P E R :

Read by Rev. Jay Cluze, before the Susquehannah Association, at its meeting in Newark Valley, N. Y., June 11, 1873.

As the original "Susquehannah Association" was formed on the same day and at the same place that Rev. Seth Williston was installed as pastor of the church at the "Second Forks of the Chenango," now the church in Lisle, N. Y., we may safely assume that it comprised those ministers and delegates who formed the council which installed Mr. Williston; and we have abundant evidence that to these must be added the names of Mr. Williston, the new pastor, and Deacon William Osborn, of Lisle, who was empowered by the church to subscribe, in their behalf, the Constitution of the Association. Upon this assumption, we find that the following named persons were present:—

MINISTERS:

REV. SETH SAGE, *Moderator of the Council.*
 REV. JOEL CHAPIN,
 REV. HUGH WALLIS,
 REV. JAMES W. WOODWARD,
 REV. NATHAN B. DARROW, *Scribe of the Council*, and
 REV. SETH WILLISTON.

DELEGATES:

DEACON JOHN TYLER, from the church at Nine-Partners, now Harford, Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania.

DEACON JOB BUNNEL, from the East Church, in Chenango, N. Y.

DEACON ISRAEL SMITH, from the church in Jericho, N. Y.

DEACON SYLVANUS SEELEY, from the church in Walton, N. Y.

SAMUEL BLAIR, from the church in Willingborough, now Great Bend, Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania.

DEACON ELIPHALET RICE, from the church in Homer.

DEACON ITHAMAR COE, from the first church in Pompey.

DEACON WILLIAM OSBORN, from the first church in Lisle.

Rev. Seth Sage, A. M., was graduated at Yale College, in 1768 ; licensed in 1771, by the New Haven East Association ; settled in 1774, as pastor of the church in Canton Centre, Conn., and dismissed in 1778. In 1800 he settled on a farm in that part of the town of Chenango, which, in 1807, was set off in the town of Windsor, and now forms the town of Colesville, Broome County, N. Y. The church in that place, known as the "Eastern Presbyterian Church in Chenango," formed Aug. 15, 1793, and now extinct, was supplied by him from 1800 to 1807 ; yet he was never settled as their pastor. He was Moderator of the Council that dismissed Rev. Mr. Williston from the church in Lisle, May 30, 1810 ; and the *Yale Triennial Catalogue* says that he died in 1821 ; he probably died in Windsor, N. Y., as Wilkinson's *Annals of Binghamton*, p. 156, says : "Soon after the formation of the church the Rev. Seth Sage became the settled minister, and remained the pastor for many years, even to the time of his death." Wilkinson, whose statements cannot always be taken without some allowance, intimates that Mr. Williston formed the church ; yet we know, on better authority, that it was formed more than one year before Mr. Williston was licensed to preach ; and that "no pastor regularly installed, except Mr. Wood, has ever presided over this church." What enterprising member of this Association will more fully gather the scattered lines of Mr. Sage's life ?

Rev. Joel Chapin was born in Ludlow, Mass., Jan. 13, 1761, son of Shem and Anna (Clark) Chapin. He served as a soldier in the Revolutionary War ; graduated at Dartmouth College in 1791, having already married Eunice Lucretia Chapin, daughter of Deacon Edward Chapin, of Chicopee, Mass. ; they were published Nov. 10, 1789. He was ordained pastor of the church in Jericho, now Brainbridge, Chenango County, N. Y., in the year 1798, though another authority, perhaps by a misprint, says 1793. Hotchkin's *History of Western New York*, pp. 67, 68, says : "This was undoubtedly the first ordination of a Congregational minister that ever occurred in the region which in this work is denominated Western New York ; and no ordination in the Presbyterian denomination occurred till some years afterward. Mr. Chapin, it is believed, was peculiarly

distinguished as a man of fervent piety, and as a peace-maker in the church of Christ. For more than twenty of the last years of his life he resided in the State of Pennsylvania ; was at first a member of the Presbytery of Susquehannah, and, on the division of that Presbytery, was set off to the Presbytery of Montrose, with which he continued in connection till the time of his decease. Notwithstanding his many infirmities of body, and extreme deafness during his last years, his life was prolonged to an advanced period ; but he has gone, as we believe, to the rest of the heavenly state, and 'his record is on high.' A correspondent speaks of him as 'eminently useful in transacting ecclesiastical business, and in reconciling difficulties among the brethren.' He died in Brainbridge, Aug. 5, 1845, in the eighty-fifth year of his age.

Possibly, more may be learned of Mr. Chapin from the *New York Observer* of March 27, 1851, and from the records of the Presbyteries of Susquehannah and Montrose.

Rev. Hugh Wallis, A. M., born in Colerain, Mass., June 15, 1767, son of James Wallis, graduated at Dartmouth College in 1791 ; was ordained pastor of the Congregational Church in Bath, Maine, Dec. 9, 1795 ; was dismissed July 15, 1800 ; removed to Solon, N. Y., and while there assisted in organizing the first church in Homer, N. Y., Oct. 12, 1801 ; was installed pastor of the first church in Pompey, N. Y., Jan. 4, 1803 ; dismissed Jan. 1, 1809 ; installed pastor at Litchfield, Herkimer County, N. Y., Dec. 5, 1809 ; dismissed April 20, 1814 ; removed with his family to Pembroke, Genesee County, N. Y., "in the latter part of the year 1816, or in the early part of the next year, and continued to reside there for many years." It is believed that he organized the church in Pembroke either before or shortly after he removed his family there ; and he officiated as stated supply to that church, to the church in Sheldon, Wyoming County, N. Y., and the church in Alden, Erie County, N. Y., for several years. He preached at Stockton, Chautauqua County, N. Y., one year, from April, 1827 ; "and for a number of years performed much service as a missionary on the Holland Purchase, under appointments from the Genesee Missionary Society, the Connecticut Missionary Society, and the General Assembly's Board of Missions." During the

last six years of his life he resided in Gates, Munroe County, N. Y., where he died Sept. 7, 1848, in the eighty-second year of his age. He married (1st) in 1798, Mary Duncan, of Colerain; (2d) in 1808, Susanna Upham; (3d) in 1839, Mrs. Nabby Butterfield.

Rev. James Wheelock Woodward, A. M., born at Hanover, N. H., Feb. 6, 1781, son of Professor Bezaleel and Mary (Wheelock) Woodward, and grandson of Eleazar Wheelock; graduated at Dartmouth College in 1798; studied divinity with Rev. Dr. Asa Burton, of Thetford, Vt., and Rev. Dr. Nathan Strong, of Hartford, Conn.; was licensed by the Hartford North Association, Oct. 7, 1801; was ordained an evangelist at Windsor, Conn., Sept. 28, 1802; was employed by the Missionary Society of Connecticut to labor in New York and Pennsylvania for two years, during which he assisted in the formation of the church at Newark Valley, Nov. 17, 1803; was installed pastor of the Congregational Church in Norwich, Vt., Sept. 5, 1804; dismissed in 1820; preached at Norwich Plain, Vt., from November, 1823, to 1826; installed pastor of the Congregational Church at Brownington, Vt., Jan. 11, 1826; dismissed in 1820; supplied again at Norwich Plain, to Dec. 1831, and was then a missionary, until disabled by paralysis. He married, Oct. 4, 1808, Sarah Partridge, of Norwich, Vt., and died at Waterbury, Vt., July 20, 1847, in the sixty-seventh year of his age.

Rev. Nathan B. Darrow was ordained as pastor of the church in Homer, Feb. 2, 1803. Mr. Hotchkin thinks he continued there about six years, and was then dismissed and removed to Ohio. Goodwin says, "this connection closed in October, 1808." He was one of the missionaries employed by the Connecticut Missionary Society to labor among the new settlements. He was employed on the Western Reserve and in Indiana as late as 1817. The report published in 1818 shows that he had spent sixty-five weeks in Indiana, repeatedly extending his excursions and labors into the adjoining Territory of Illinois; during which time he had preached two hundred and sixty-one sermons; and that, by his exertions, four Bible Societies were formed. Perhaps he came from the vicinity of New London, Conn. His life affords a fine field of investigation for some

inquiring member of this association. In 1813 he had a pastoral charge in Vienna, New Connecticut (Ohio), and within the year preceding June, 1813, he had labored nearly five months as a missionary, twenty-five weeks during the year ending June, 1812, and eighteen weeks in the year ending June, 1814.

Rev. Seth Williston, A. M., D. D., born at Suffield, Conn., April 4, 1770, third child of Consider and Rhoda (King) Williston; graduated at Dartmouth College in 1791; taught at Windsor, Conn., one year, and at New London, Conn., two years; studied divinity with the Rev. Charles Backus, at Somers, Conn.; was licensed by the Tolland Association (Conn.), Oct 17, 1794; ordained an evangelist at Avon, Conn., June 7, 1797; was employed by the General Association of Connecticut, and the Missionary Society of Connecticut, as a missionary to the new settlements in New York, from 1798, till his settlement as pastor of the church in Lisle, Oct. 19, 1803; during which time, he, perhaps, assisted in the formation of more churches than any other of those missionaries. May 8, 1804, he married Mrs. Sibyl (Stoddard) Dudley, widow of Wright Dudley, of Lisle, N. Y.; was dismissed from church in Lisle, May 30, 1810; installed pastor of Presbyterian Church in Durham, N. Y., July 4, 1810; dismissed Dec. 22, 1828; after which he went into the missionary field, and preached in various places till 1850, including six months for the Presbyterian Church of Owego, in 1846. In 1850, he visited his *alma mater*, and preached in the College Church. "He published eleven volumes, eleven pamphlets, and six tracts. His whole ministry was nearly fifty-six years in length, and the entire record good." He died at Guilford Centre, N. Y., March 2, 1851, aged nearly eighty-one years. His only son, Rev. Timothy Williston, born April 8, 1805, is a Presbyterian minister at Oneida Lake, N. Y.

In preparing these notes, great help has been had from Hotchkin's *History of Western New York*, and Dr. Chapman's *Sketches of the Alumni of Dartmouth College*. It is remarkable that four of these six men were graduates of that college, and three of them members of one class.

AN ECUMENICAL COUNCIL OF THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES.

PROBABLY the words at the head of this article will startle some Congregationalists ; for all have not yet become accustomed to view Congregationalism in its grand comprehensiveness. Jealousy for its formative principle,—the independence under Christ of each local congregation of believers,—which is giving liberty to the world, has obscured the conception of its equally broad unifying principle. But the time has come, as it seems to us, for exhibiting the ecumenical character of this latter principle, by showing that the unity of our churches in advisory fellowship may consistently be as wide as the world itself. We desire, therefore, to call the attention of our churches to this wider fellowship, and to give some reasons why it should be speedily enjoyed through Ecumenical Councils.

We mean by "Ecumenical Council" a gathering of the Congregational churches, by messengers, as wide in its constituency as the habitable globe, to be called as soon as practicable at the most convenient place ; possessing and exercising no ecclesiastical authority whatever, but giving advisory judgment in matters of special concern, and meeting as often as the love and wants of the churches may determine.

The use of the term "Ecumenical" by the Roman Catholics in no way embarrasses its use by the Congregationalists ; for under the form of government held by each body, Ecumenical Councils may be convened with equal propriety. Strangely enough, these extremes of all possible systems are equally fitted, and are the only forms of church government that are fitted, to give a consistent expression of ecumenical unity. Systems between them cannot exhibit this unity without introducing a foreign element or increasing the divisive tendencies which they already possess. Shall the Presbyterian churches join in a Pan-Presbyterian Assembly, as has been advocated ? Such a Pan-Assembly must be either advisory or authoritative in its deliverances : if advisory, then an un-Presbyterian and antagonistic element is introduced into the system, subversive of the whole ; if authoritative, then the

Pan-Presbyterian Assembly becomes the highest judicatory in the system, subject like the rest to perpetual cleavage. For from it, through regular appeal, particular churches will seek relief from domestic controversies, of which each generation is full, as, for example, the use of hymns and organs in church worship. And should this Pan-Assembly, fulfilling its high functions, decide either for or against their use, its authority would be at once defied, and the desired unity destroyed again ; for what has been found so divisive in national bodies would become more divisive in Pan-Assemblies. This unhappy dilemma will constrain, if I mistake not, the abandonment of the attempt at Pan-Presbyterian unity. Nor is it easy to see how on Presbyterian principles the evil can be escaped and union secured. The same difficulty stands also in the way of the ecumenical unity of the remaining centralized forms of church government. They may become ecumenical by borrowing from us the principle of advisory fellowship ; but in so doing they import a foreign and antagonistic element, dangerous to their life. But to no such dilemma is either Roman Catholicism or Congregationalism exposed ; for the former deposits all authority in the Pope, the latter, in the local congregation of believers ; that founds its unity solely on the infallible authority held and exercised by the Vicar of Christ ; this builds its unity solely on the advisory fellowship of particular congregations. Each polity, therefore, is world-wide in its scope, capable of including in one body all the professed followers of Jesus Christ. Each carries the mark of universality, of catholicity, of ecumenicity. Congregationalism has then a clear claim to the term "Ecumenical," to designate the body representing the actual union of all existing Congregational churches, and the possible union of all believers throughout the world. So much for the name of the thing proposed.

We do not advocate an Ecumenical Council meeting frequently, like the Congregational Union of England and Wales, and the National Council of the United States, though no substantial objection can be urged against its meeting periodically, as every ten years ; but we do advocate the holding of one such Council in the near future, and others thereafter, as occasion may require.

The expense of holding it, say at London, would be readily borne, if the question of its importance should be affirmatively answered. Indeed, nearly or quite enough Congregational ministers and laymen from this and other countries visit London every year to constitute a sufficient representation. The success of the Evangelical Alliance shows what a hold the idea of church unity has upon the Christian heart. May it not be as successfully appealed to in the Congregational churches as among the various denominations? If our churches shall wisely decide to manifest their unity in an Ecumenical Council, the heart will constrain the hand to supply the means for holding it. The National Council did not suffer from this cause even at its organization. Nearly every delegate elected was in attendance.

Nor can it be objected that Congregationalism has no way of calling such a body; for again the National Council may be cited in reply. Among churches joined only by bonds of love and counsel, all that can possibly be done, or need be done, is to invite them to a wider expression of their unity in Christ Jesus; and this invitation can be given by any body of churches of numbers sufficient to secure for their action respectful attention, or, better still, national committees may be appointed to arrange time, place, and topics; and to issue the call on behalf of all Congregational churches. Our polity has consistent ways of doing all such things.

That an Ecumenical Council is in perfect harmony with the principles of our polity is obvious: it would be simply advisory in its nature, destitute wholly of ecclesiastical authority, and hence incapable of infringing upon the independency of the churches.

We go further, and declare that our second grand fundamental principle—that of advisory fellowship under Christ of local congregations of believers—is incomplete without Ecumenical Councils. This principle has no limit in its application. It is as wide as the churches of Christ, as broad as the kingdom of heaven on earth, as comprehensive as the renewing grace of God. The kingdom of heaven is one and not many, and its visible manifestation should also be one and not many that the world may believe on Christ (John xvii: 20-23). It is a matter of profound gratitude to God that our churches are rising to this grand conception of the comprehensiveness of their

simple form of government,— the fact of which is disclosed in the steady growth in favor and efficiency of district and state Conferences, and the organization of national bodies. Through these our scriptural polity has been developing towards completeness in an ecumenical unity by which the actual union of all Congregational churches will be formally exhibited, and the future union of all believers fittingly foreshadowed. Now, the largest, even more than the smallest, of these unions of independent churches will be controlled by our inviolable formative principle, and must be by necessary consequence strictly advisory. Since men ever accustomed to the exercise of ecclesiastical authority in smaller bodies are constrained to adopt the principle of advisory union in international Alliances and Conventions, how much more shall we, who believe in this principle as the only true and scriptural one, and who have been long used to its strict application in all our ecclesiastical bodies, see to it that no ecumenical council overstep in any direction, this, its divine limitation? Indeed, both the call and the rules adopted for its deliberations would undoubtedly exclude, in express terms, the possible exercise of ecclesiastical authority.

That our polity naturally culminates in a world-wide unity has been more than once intimated. Thus Rev. R. B. Thurston says, "The organization of a national conference in America will be an event of the widest relations and the grandest significance; for it will be a symbol of a unity which need not be narrower than the round world,— a unity not framed by ecclesiastical power, sure to verge into oppression and excite revolt when left to itself, but a unity of the followers of Christ, inspiring and therefore incorporating every member."¹ Rev. J. B. Payton, president of the Congregational Theological Institute, Nottingham, England, says, "The *catholic church* is the church built up of all its members; therefore, of all believing men and women who have entered into open fellowship with each other in local communities, and who, by means of these local churches, rise up to wide, universal fellowship with each other."² The writer once said, "This taken

¹ A National Conference, *Congregational Quarterly* for July, 1870, p. 398.

² Review of Dr. Wordsworth on the Church of England.

(the organization of a stated national conference), the final step remains, to gather, through Ecumenical Councils, all our churches in all lands into one body,— a visible exhibition of universal Christian brotherhood, in harmony with the perfect autonomy of each local church.”¹ Others may have also foreshadowed the coming unity, but these only are ready to our hand.

It is clear, therefore, that our polity logically requires Ecumenical Councils to render its inherent comprehensiveness complete in form ; and the question presents itself, Has not the time fully come for perfecting our polity ? Are there not sufficient reasons why Congregationalists should soon hold an Ecumenical Council of all their churches ? That we may introduce the question for thorough consideration by others, we will give the reasons, in outline, which seem to us sufficient to warrant such a Council.

There are, in the first place, points of doctrine and of polity respecting which greater unity of view and of practice would be secured by free consultation in an Ecumenical Council. Our polity, for example, has not been developed under precisely the same circumstances in all countries where it exists, and it has not consequently taken precisely the same form. Now, all points of divergence or of interest could be fraternally discussed, — the wisdom of all lands being used to clarify them, — until our churches shall see eye to eye, and act with that uniformity which gives the greatest strength. The application also of our doctrine of the Christian church to the relation of church and state, to religious education in state schools, to missionary enterprises, to the conditions of church membership, to the doctrine of organic Christianity, *i. e.* the growing tendency of good men to stay out of church organizations, and to the other theories of the church, are some of the special themes demanding consideration. Others of a general nature are not wanting. If the Evangelical Alliance can find topics of such generic concern as to bring the busy and the learned of all denominations from all lands together in sweet Christian consultation, surely Congregationalists cannot fail of special and general questions of such vital importance to our churches as to make an Ecu-

¹ A National Conference of Congregational Churches, *Congregational Review* for August, 1870, p. 435.

menical Council fruitful of lasting blessings. This unifying of views and practices is essential to the highest efficiency in the Master's service, and would alone justify a mutual consultation of our widely scattered churches.

Then, again, an Ecumenical Council, by increasing harmony of view and procedure, and by bringing all Congregational churches of the Evangelical faith into acquaintance with one another, will greatly augment their sympathy and enthusiasm. The isolation which our churches so long sustained, save as broken by the formerly infrequent ordaining councils, resulted both in establishing and in magnifying their independence, but it wrought harm, in other respects, to our free polity. It paralyzed sympathy, enthusiasm, *esprit de corps*.¹

It also led to the giving of our strength to the enlargement of polities, radically antagonistic to and subversive of our own. The tide has now turned. The organization of district, state, and national bodies, destitute of all ecclesiastical authority, and the withdrawal of other denominations from our benevolent societies, have begun to rekindle sympathy and enthusiasm in our churches. The pulsations of a kindred life begin to throb through our congregations; and as the capacity of our polity to satisfy fully the Christian instinct for union as well as for liberty becomes more and more realized in wider fellowship, enthusiasm for the primitive order begins to inspire all hearts.²

¹ Since the above was written, we have fallen upon this passage: "It is still one of the unsolved mysteries of the age, how the ecclesiastical descendants of the Pilgrims anywhere, especially in New England, and more especially in Massachusetts, can withhold the small pittance of one fair contribution for this national, memorial, family, and, confessedly, much needed home (the Congregational House, Boston, Mass.). . . . It is quite certain that no similar object in behalf of and by any other branch of the great Christian household would be doomed to receive only such reluctant and scanty aid, such feeble and hesitating co-operation." Rev. I. P. Langworthy, in Report of Am. Cong. Ass. for 1873.

This sad mystery was born of the one-sided development of our polity, by which acquaintance, sympathy, enthusiasm, *esprit de corps* were sacrificed, perhaps naturally, under the circumstances, but still sacrificed, to isolated independence. The mystery is disappearing under closer fellowship, and will cease when our polity reaches the fulness of the divine model in unity as in liberty. That it does not inherit in independency is proved by the sympathy, enthusiasm, and *esprit de corps* which have made the Baptists so co-operative and numerous.

² "The review of our Congregational history during the last twenty years is very interesting and suggestive. . . . The new spirit awakened and the new measures inaugurated at the convention in Albany, in 1852, prepared the way for the great

Let it be hereafter shown that an ecumenical unity is not only consistent with our polity, but has been actually realized, without detriment to the autonomy of the weakest church, and sympathy, enthusiasm, *esprit de corps* will be greatly augmented. We shall lend our supporting fellowship in material and spiritual aid to all churches founded on the scriptural order, as other denominations have ever done to churches of their respective polities. Nor can this increase of sympathy and enthusiasm be deplored by any right-minded man, for through it our churches have lost none of their rights or privileges, while gaining immensely in efficiency. Rather let it be increased yet more, that liberty and unity may become universal through their example and labors. When sympathy binds together and enthusiasm inspires our Israel in full degree, then, and not till then, shall we be ready to seize and hold the opportunities opening before us.

Furthermore, an Ecumenical Council will establish a much needed bond between our missionary and the home churches, as also between the little clusters and the larger constellations.¹ These separate churches and little scattered groups are necessarily surrounded by adverse ecclesiastical influences. They are threatened in respect to polity by a foe more dan-

Council at Boston in 1865. That in its turn set influences at work which resulted in the Council at Oberlin in 1871, and the decision to hold hereafter a regular triennial meeting for the promotion of Christian fellowship, and for consultation and incitement in regard to the work providentially imposed upon our churches. It has so come to pass that, as compared with twenty years ago, there is to-day among us far more of unity of purpose, and greater facilities for effective co-operation, and juster appreciation of our responsibilities to Christ, to the country, and to the world. Our organizations for Christian action have been so adjusted in relation to each other that they are working in perfect harmony. . . . No body of Christians could well desire better opportunities than are now open to us." Report of Am. Cong. Union for 1873.

¹ There were, in A. D. 1872, about 7,141 Congregational churches of our faith in the world, distributed as follows : 3,263 in the United States, 83 in the Dominion of Canada, 9 in Nova Scotia, 5 in New Brunswick, 6 in the Island of Jamaica, 2,235 in England, 897 in Wales, 105 in Scotland, 27 in Ireland, 17 in the islands of the British Seas, 177 in Australia and New Zealand, 12 in South Africa and Demarara, 305 Mission churches of the English Congregationalists, 200 of the American Congregationalists, besides the *quasi*-Congregational Free Churches of France (132) and Italy (25), and the Independent Presbyterian churches of the Canton of Vaud, Switzerland. There may also be others standing by our side or near us, who would gladly join us in advisory fellowship.

gerous than persecution and as insidious as the unfelt malaria. Hitherto we have suffered them to withstand alone these influences as best they might, without the offer of our cheering fellowship and counsel. They have neither heard the voice nor grasped the hand of their more than six thousand sister churches, for the strong have not spoken to the weak in sympathetic counsel, nor extended a helping hand to lighten their burdens. Other denominations have not treated their feeble and scattered churches so ill, but have cared tenderly for them. Would it be a matter of astonishment, then, if our scattered and mission churches longer neglected, feeling both the chilliness of their isolation and the impulses of the Holy Spirit constraining them to Christian unity, should forsake the cold manger where they were born and left by their parents for any ecclesiastical home that offers them fellowship and sympathy ? They must be strong in their views of church government not to fall where others better circumstanced have fallen. But are they, especially the mission churches, strongly indoctrinated in the polity which we believe to be the scriptural one ? What have we to assure us here, where assurance seems to be needed ?¹

Even the doubt makes it incumbent on us to use the means which our polity allows, yea, requires, to bind these churches to the true order of government, by our expressed visible fellowship, sympathy, and aid. Less than this we cannot safely do ; and this can be done only by bringing them into our free but warm advisory gatherings, that the simplicity, liberality, beauty, and catholicity of our polity may hold them. In other words, there needs to be an ecumenical assembly of our churches, in which the mission and scattered members of the sisterhood shall have a large representation, that

¹ Reading this article to the son of a missionary, who had lived to his sixteenth year at a station in India, he said that he had been often asked what church it was that he had joined at the mission, and that he had been unable to tell. It were well if all mission churches were only churches of Jesus Christ ; but as there are several theories of the Christian church, some one of which each church must hold, and as the advocates of other theories teach them with all diligence, it is inevitable that denominations will arise in missionary lands. Now, in the division which must come sooner or later, where will the churches planted by the Congregationalists stand ? This concerns both us and the truth.

they may feel the comforts of a natural friendship, so long denied them.

Still more, the duty of holding an Ecumenical Council, through which these scattered churches can be taken into the nourishing warmth of our fellowship, rises into transcendent importance when we comprehend the agitations and revolutions that are going on in all nations, and the grand opportunity they afford us. When the slaveholders' Rebellion was crushed, and the slaves became free citizens, the Congregational churches of the United States thought that an exigency had arisen sufficient to justify them in overstepping the isolation of two hundred years, by holding a National Council, which thing they did at Boston, in 1865. The step was wisely and timely taken. Now, the present condition of the nations, whether Protestant, Roman Catholic, or heathen, presents, if we mistake not, an exigency of far greater moment, one justifying the holding of an Ecumenical Council, to prepare for the unfolding issues, and to get ready for the opening opportunities. All things in church and state are unmistakably tending towards liberty and unity. All forms of government, civil and ecclesiastical, are being forced into the crucible, from which only the fittest will come, that which holds in even scale the rights of the individual and the rights of society, equality and order, liberty and union.

It is scarcely necessary to give here more than a passing reference to the tendency to disestablishment and decentralization in Protestant countries. The work of demolition must go on until there are only free churches in free states everywhere.¹ The thing that hinders, especially in the church, is the visible and efficient unity ever exhibited by centralized systems. The demolition and reconstruction, which are inevitable, will be greatly hastened if the people can see efficiency joined to liberty and unity, as they may and will be joined in Congregationalism, when once it clothes itself with the beautiful garments peculiarly its own. Then again the Roman Catholics, though the hierarchy be more active now than for a century past,² are setting themselves resolutely

¹ See *Congregational Quarterly*, vol. xi, pp. 22-27.

² *The Nation* (New York), No. 429, p. 189.

against the papacy, by assuming the right of private judgment in civil matters. Witness Italy, which has stripped the Pope of his temporal power, Austria, Mexico,—Spain, the pity of the earth ; witness also the rising movement against the Pope's spiritual supremacy in the Old Catholic Reform. Now, the recoil from bondage to the papacy brings of necessity the Roman Catholics and the Old Catholics into the still unsettled problem of church government. The Reformers, going before, have solved the problem variously, and have embodied their solution in radically antagonistic systems. Turning his back on the papacy as an unholy thing, the Roman Catholic sees three other radically different theories of the church contending for the mastery. How much soever he may be inclined to adopt some particular one of these at the start, he will ultimately be compelled to examine the Divine warrant of each, and to adopt that which carries most legibly the stamp of the Lawgiver who alone is infallible. The Bible, assuming in his mind its rightful place over tradition, decrees, and popes, will become his teacher in polity, as in doctrine. Nor can we doubt that the mark of its universality, of its catholicity, already pointed out, together with its scripturalness in all other respects, will mightily help him to adopt the primitive order ; for he has been taught that the church of Christ is one, and he will naturally regard unity as an essential mark of the true church. The Congregational churches will therefore miss their opportunity, if they fail to set forth evidently before his eyes a form of government combining ecumenical unity with the freest liberty. We ought to show him, struggling out from bondage into sweet freedom, how the church of Christ may be one and yet be free. Not that a great spectacular council should be called : by no means. Let Rome dazzle the eyes of the people, while we strive to satisfy that deep desire for union which has carried so many over to Rome. Let us show that out of Rome there may be union, and union too in liberty. If the Roman Catholic peoples do not copy our form of government in the church, as they are persistently trying to do in the state, it will be because we fail to exhibit its breadth and beauty. Our polity gave form to the organic law of the Republic, and it is as good for the church as republicanism is for the state. To this

primitive polity the Romanist as well as the Old Catholic will sometime return. Professor Paton, after giving the principles which seem to be struggling into the foreground of the Old Catholic movement in Europe, says, "If the leaders . . . embody these evangelical principles in a church which shall be vital with the organizing forces and catholic sentiment that have always distinguished the Roman Catholic Church in contrast with Protestantism, they will fulfil the promise of their name in a church, *catholic* in its fellowship and unity, and old as the apostolic in its faith and purity."¹ The Master lays it upon us to aid these and all other searchers after the primitive order, by showing them the completed pattern which we have received from our Lord, that they may adopt it,—complete in its unity, as in its liberty.

But if the Roman Catholics, in the dawning day of their liberation, call for a full exhibition of our polity, no less do the awakening heathen nations. The coming century is to see most of them Christianized. Great revolutions are now in progress in them. Take India, China, Japan, and Madagascar, as examples. A recent writer says of India, "The spell of caste, and all that is connected with caste, has been broken, and whatever of weal or woe may be in store for the India of the future, the India which we knew a generation ago, frozen into forms which had remained unchanged for so many centuries, can never be seen again."² It cannot be doubted that, in the coming wreck of heathenism, Christianity, in some form, will prevail, as it ever has where heathenism has gone down before it. Of course, if these nations are christianized, they will, and must of necessity, adopt one or more of the theories of the church now sharply contending for general acceptance. For to organize at all, as believers in the Lord Jesus, is to put into the organization, ignorantly or knowingly, some theory of the church. It cannot be a matter of indifference to us what theory they shall choose; for some are oppressive and divisive, tending to schisms and corruption. Shall these be their sad choice, or shall the apostolic order of purity, liberty, and unity be their blessed portion? The latter, it is devoutly to be

¹ Catholicism and Papal Infallibility.

² Sir Bartle Frere on Indian Missions, quoted from *Miss. Herald*, Sept. 1873, p. 272.

hoped. We ought, therefore, not only to throw around our scattered mission churches our sympathetic support, but also to make them the advanced outposts through which our unifying polity, in its wide comprehensiveness, liberality, simplicity, purity, and beauty, may be commended unto all. Let any centralized form of church government be adopted, and division begins. So it has ever been, and so it ever will be ; for only that polity can secure permanent unity which allows each congregation to manage its own affairs. We do not call for an Ecumenical Council, therefore, to introduce or give new life to a divisive element, but to quicken that form of government which in our opinion contains, and alone contains, the true unification of believers. It is to prevent the wastes which divisions compel that we desire to see the full capabilities of our polity shown to the awakening heathen nations.

Thus the nations, ready to throw off the Old in their bewildered search for the Better, summon us like the voice of the King of kings, not merely and only to vast evangelistic labors, but also to give them, in all its fulness of development, the divine mould in which the spiritual life may best fashion its visible manifestation. If the issues arising from the failure of the slaveholders' Rebellion justified the consultation of American Congregationalists at Boston in 1865,—and no one is so blind to the results as to doubt it,—much more do the moral and religious revolutions going on in heathen nations, the falling papacy, arousing itself for a final struggle, and the irrepressible problem of ecclesiastical government in all Christian lands,—in short, the restless want of all nations,—constitute an urgent call for the consultation of the Congregational churches the world over.

All our reasons, however, culminate in this one prayer of our Lord, "That they all may be one ; as thou, Father, art in me, and I thee, that they also may be one in us : that the world may believe that thou hast sent me." (John xxii : 21.) The Roman Catholics rightly refer this not only to spiritual unity but also to visible union. For the kingdom of heaven on earth, that is, the reign of Christ in the hearts of believers, is in its nature indivisible, while the visible manifestation of that reign is divisible and may be even belligerent. It is this division in manifestation that is keeping the world from believ-

ing that the Father sent the Son. While the Roman Catholics are thus right in interpretation, they are radically wrong in their theory of the church, and consequently in their attempt to realize this visible union. Their mistake here has frightened Protestants from attempting ecumenical unity, though aspirations after it have lately found temporary relief in the meetings of the Evangelical Alliance. Now, the prayer of Christ can be answered—and it will most assuredly be answered—only in a more permanent, visible union; and if history teaches anything, it teaches that this union can be found only in advisory bodies. The attempt to secure union on authority split off the Eastern Church, then drove out the Protestants, then the Puritans and Wesleyans, and has made Protestantism weak and scandalous by reason of its divisions.

The unifying principle that has ecumenical breadth, divine vigor, and hence permanency in it, the one that can—and, viewed historically, the only one that can—consummate the prayer of our Lord and Head, has been embodied in advisory fellowship, has been carried up to national boundaries, and should now be made ecumenical, that the widest aspirations of the believing heart, comprehending all saints, may be realized, and the world convinced of the divine character and mission of Jesus Christ.

Greater uniformity in view and procedure; acquaintance, sympathy, and enthusiasm; a much needed bond of attachment between the small groups of isolated churches in our sisterhood and the larger; the agitations and revolutions among all peoples, arising from an unsatisfied want; and the prayer of Christ Jesus, "who is over all, God blessed forever,"—these are the obvious reasons why an Ecumenical Council of Congregational churches should soon be held. Others are not far to find. But we rest here, laying the above reasons on the wisdom and conscience of our churches, in the fond hope that these churches will discern the signs of the times more clearly and meet the want of all peoples by manifesting in its simplicity, liberty, and unity, the divine pattern committed to their hands, ever praying that their ecclesiastical, as well as doctrinal and spiritual, light may shine, until it becomes the heritage and joy of the whole earth.

A. HASTINGS ROSS.

Columbus, O.

CONGREGATIONAL THEOLOGICAL SEMINARIES IN
1873-74

THE following lists are compiled from the printed catalogues (with additions by letters) and information in manuscript.

The seminaries are arranged in the alphabetical order of the towns and cities in which they are located. We have changed arrangement of columns to secure uniformity of style.

The date following the office of a professor is that of the year when he entered upon that professorship. If he was earlier a professor in some other department, we have mentioned the fact in parenthesis, showing the entire term of his official connection with the seminary.

The line "Name and Residence, Graduated," which is prefixed to "Resident Licentiates," Andover, is to be considered as prefixed to every class throughout all the lists. Two dashes under "Graduated" signifies that the person has not been a member of any college; the name of a college, with a dash where the year would come, signifies that the person was once a student in that college but did not graduate; a blank in either case signifies our ignorance, although we have supplied many dates from the several Triennials.

The following list of abbreviations of names of colleges, which we annually use, was prepared after careful survey of the whole field. To secure uniformity, we are obliged to make several changes from the abbreviations used in the several catalogues. Our rule is, in case of conflict, to use the simple initials for the older colleges, and more extended abbreviations for the later ones. Thus, "B.C." belongs to Bowdoin College, and not to Beloit, although some catalogues give it to the latter.

A.C.	Amherst College, Massachusetts.	N.Y.U.	New York University.
B.C.	Bowdoin College, Maine.	O.C.	Oberlin College, Ohio.
Bel.C.	Beloit College, Wisconsin.	O.I.C.	Olivet College, Michigan.
Ber.C.	Berea College, Kentucky.	Ott.U.	Otterbein University, Ohio.
B.U.	Brown University, Rhode Island.	P.C.	Pennsylvania College.
D.C.	Dartmouth Coll., N. Hampshire.	R.F.C.	Rutgers Female College, N. Y.
Den.U.	Denison University.	R.I.C.	Ripon College, Wisconsin.
Ham.C.	Hamilton College, New York.	Tab.C.	Tabor College, Iowa.
H.C.	Harvard College, Massachusetts.	U.C.	Union College, New York.
Heil.U.	Heldelburg University, Germany.	U.Cal.	University of California.
Hills.C.	Hilldale College, Michigan.	U.I.	University of Indiana.
Ill.C.	Illinois College.	U.M.	University of Michigan.
Io.C.	Iowa College.	U.P.	University of Pennsylvania.
K.C.	Knox College, Illinois.	U.Vt.	University of Vermont.
K.C.L.	King's College, London.	U.W.	University of Wisconsin.
Linc U.	Lincoln University, Pa.	Wab.C.	Wabash College, Indiana.
Lou.C.	Louis College, France.	Westf.C.	Westfield College, Illinois.
Mac.C.	Macon College, Tennessee.	Westm.C.	Westminster College, Pa.
Mar.C.	Marquette College, Ohio.	Wg.C.	Waynesburg College, Penn.
McG.C.	McGill College, Canada.	W.R.C.	Western Reserve College, Ohio.
M.C.	Middlebury College, Vermont.	Wh.C.	Wheaton College, Ohio.
N.C.	New College, London.	Witt.C.	Wittenberg College, Ohio.
N.W.C.	North Western College, Illinois.	W.C.	Williams College, Massachusetts.
N.J.C.	New Jersey College.	W'n C.	Western College, Iowa.
N.Y.C.	New York College.	Y.C.	Yale College, Connecticut.

I. ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, ANDOVER, MASS.

Opened for instruction, September 28, 1808.

FACULTY.

- Rev. EDWARDS A. PARK, D. D., Abbot Professor of Christian Theology.—1847. (Was Professor of Sacred Rhetoric, 1836-47.)
 Rev. JOHN L. TAYLOR, D. D., Smith Professor of Theology and Homiletics (in the Special Course), and Lecturer on Pastoral Theology.—1888.
 Rev. AUSTIN PHELPS, D. D., Bartlett Professor of Sacred Rhetoric.—1848.
 Rev. EGBERT C. SMYTH, D. D., Brown Professor of Ecclesiastical History.—1863.
 Rev. J. HENRY THAYER, D. D., Associate Professor of Sacred Literature.—1864.
 Rev. CHARLES M. MEAD, Hitchcock Professor of the Hebrew Language and Literature.—1868.
 Rev. J. WESLEY CHURCHILL, Jones Professor of Elocution.—1868.
 Prof. JULIUS H. SEELYE, D. D., Lecturer on Foreign Missions.
 Rev. TRUMAN M. POST, D. D., Lecturer on Congregationalism.
 Rev. ALEXANDER H. CLAPP, D. D., Lecturer on Home Missions.
 Rev. WILLIAM L. ROPES, Librarian.

RESIDENT LICENTIATES.

NAME AND RESIDENCE.	GRADUATED.
Chas. Anderson, Jr., Auburn, N. Y.	Ham.C. 1869.

Chas. C. Carpenter, Andover, Mass.	—
John W. Haley, Andover, Mass.	D.C. 1869
David P. Lindsley, Andover, Mass.	—
Henry Marsh, Olivet, Mich.	O.I.C. 1870
Augustus M. Rice, Kasson, Minn.	U.W. 1870

(6) SENIOR CLASS.

Sidney E. Bailey, Saxton's River, Vt.	A.C. 1871
Edward A. Benner, Lowell, Mass.	A.C. 1869
John T. Crumrine, Lindly's Mills, Pa.	W.G.C. 1871
Elisha F. Fales, Jr., Wrentham, Mass.	B.U. 1870
Chas. N. Flanders, Haverhill, N. H.	D.C. 1871
James B. Gregg, Andover, Mass.	H.C. 1866
Charles L. Hall, New York City.	N.Y.C. 1866
John W. Hird, Andover, Mass.	Y.C. 1871
G. Milton Howe, Oxford, Mass.	A.C. 1871
Frank D. Kelsey, Columbus, O.	Mar.C. 1870
Henry L. Kendall, Barrington, R. I.	B.U. 1871
S. Sherberne Mathews, Boston, Mass.	—
Lyman F. Rand, Keene, N. H.	O.C. 1871
George Rogers, Bristol, Eng.	N.O. —
Joseph B. Seabury, New Bedford, Mass.	A.C. 1869

Edward B. Sellers, Boston, Mass.	Wh.C. 1866
Charles E. Seymour, Rootstown, O.	W.R.C. 1870
John E. Smith, Oberlin, O.	O.C. 1870
Edwin C. Stickel, Decatur, Ill.	A.C. 1869
Edward G. Stone, Warren, Ct.	A.C. 1871
Charles L. Tombien, West Brookfield, Mass.	A.C. 1871

Edward P. Wheeler, Beloit, Wis.	Bel.C. 1870
Levett S. Woodworth, West Williamsfield, O.	B.U. 1871

(23)

MIDDLE CLASS.

Allison D. Adams, Union Grove, Wis.	Bel.C. 1871
F. H. Bartlett, Bristol, N. H.	—
Robert C. Bedford, Tomah, Wis.	Bel.C. 1872
Will S. Bugbee, Springfield, O.	Witt.C. 1872
Austin H. Burr, Oberlin, O.	O.C. 1871
James H. Childs, Amherst, Mass.	A.C. 1869
John W. Colwell, Providence, R. I.	B.U. 1872
Samuel E. Eastman, Royalton, Wis.	O.C. 1872
Edward D. Eaton, Lancaster, Wis.	Bel.C. 1872
Charles E. Gordon, Worcester, Mass.	Y.C. —
Charles W. Guernsey, Dubuque, Iowa,	I.C. 1871
James L. Hill, Fayette, Iowa,	I.C. 1871
John H. Hincks, Bridgeport, Ct.	Y.C. 1872
John A. Kaley, Carey, O.	Witt.C. 1872
William Lawrence, Brookline, Mass.	H.C. 1871
Frank J. Marsh, Leominster, Mass.	A.C. 1870
Robt. J. Mathews, Brookfield, O.	W.R.C. 1872
David McG. Means, Andover, Mass.	Y.C. 1868
Harry P. Nichols, Salem, Mass.	H.C. 1871
Francis Parker, Gloucester, Mass.	A.C. 1872
William A. Rand, Portsmouth, N. H.	—
C. J. H. Ropes, London, Eng.	Y.C. 1872
Charles L. Short, New York City.	C.C. 1872
Charles E. Steele, New Britain, Ct.	Y.C. 1871
T. Franklin Waters, Salem, Mass.	H.C. 1872
S. H. Wheeler, South Hero, Vt.	U.Vt. 1871
J. D. Williamson, Cleveland, O.	W.R.C. 1870

(27)

306 *Congregational Theological Seminaries in 1873-74.* [April,

JUNIOR CLASS.

Cyrus G. Baldwin, Dayton, O.	O.C. 1873	Orrison S. Marden, Campton, N. H.	— —
Henry A. Blake, Providence, R. I.	B.U. 1873	Francis E. Masten, Boston, Mass.	A.C. —
Charles N. Brainerd, Middlebury, Vt.	M.C. 1873	Kingsley F. Norris, Sodus, N. Y.	A.C. 1873
John C. Brooks, Boston, Mass.	H.C. 1872	John E. Russell, Walpole, N. H.	W.C. 1872
Homer W. Carter, Talmadge, O.	O.C. 1870	Cyrus Stone, Andover, Mass.	W.C. 1872
Austin S. Chase, Andover, Mass.	D.C. 1869	Wm. T. Swinnerton, Cambridgeport, Mass.	— —
Frank K. Chase, Exeter, N. H.	— —	Howard A. Van Tassell, Brooklyn, N. Y.	— —
Frank E. Clark, Westboro', Mass.	D.C. 1873	(21)	
Wm. O. Colesworthy, Chelsea, Mass.	H.C. —		
Nathan T. Dyer, South Braintree, Mass.	D.C. 1873	SPECIAL COURSE.	
Henry H. Haynes, Tilton, N. H.	H.C. 1873	Elmer J. Beach, Harwinton, Ct.	— —
Edmond C. Ingalls, Blooming Grove, N. Y.	H.C. 1873	George L. Dickinson, Wendell, Mass.	— —
George H. Johnson, Cambridge, Mass.	H.C. 1873	John C. Edgar, Saundersville, Mass.	— —
John N. Lowell, Winterport, Me.	B.C. 1873	Wm. J. McLean, Andover, Mass.	— —
		Joseph Nec-Sima, Yedo, Japan.	A.C. —
		Thomas Robinson, Salisbury, Eng.	A.C. 1872
		James T. Wilson, Brooklyn, N. Y.	— —
		Total, 78.	

II. THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, BANGOR, MAINE.

Opened for instruction, November, 1817.

FACULTY.

Rev. ENOCH POND, D. D., President, Professor <i>Emeritus</i> of Ecclesiastical History. — 1855-1870, <i>Emeritus</i> , 1870. (Was Professor of Theology, 1832-'55.)	
Rev. DANIEL SMITH TALCOTT, D. D., Hayes Professor of Sacred Literature. — 1839.	
— —, Buck Professor of Christian Theology, and Librarian.	[— 1869.]
Rev. WILLIAM M. BARBOUR, D. D., Fogg Professor of Sacred Rhetoric and Pastoral Duties.	
Rev. LEVI L. PAINE, Professor of Ecclesiastical History. — 1870.	

SENIOR CLASS.

Ezra Andrews, Detroit, Me.		Charles G. Holyoke, Yarmouth, Me. B.C. 1868
F. C. Bradeen, Dexter, Me.		Herbert A. Loring, East Sumner, N.Y.U. 1872
John R. Chalmers, Wells River, Vt. D.C. —		Dugald McGregor, Manilla, Ont.
Thos. M. Davies, Cape Elizabeth, Me.		William Peacock, Lanark, Ont. McG.C.
B. F. Grant, Newport, Me.	B.C.	Lauriston Reynolds, East Wilton, Me.
Horace Graves, Dover, Me.		Edmund C. Sherburne, Pomfret, Vt.
Charles E. Harrington, Brewer Village, Me.		Charles B. Woodcock, New York
Richard W. Jenkins, Kingston, Pa.		City, Hei.U. 1872
Gustavus W. Jones, Unity, Me.		(14)
Thomas Kinney, Milo, Me.		
William P. Kinney, Ilionton, Me.		JUNIOR CLASS.
B. B. Merrill, Bangor, Me.		
Charles N. Sinnott, Harpswell, Me.		Warren F. Bickford, Newburg, Me. B.C. 1872
S. C. Whitcomb, Lawrence, Kan.		Fred Debos, Salem, Mass. Lou.C.
(14)		Jonathan Edwards, Plymouth, Pa.

MIDDLE CLASS.

Edmund J. Burgess, East Tilbury, Can.		Charles E. Fitz, Manchester, N. H. K.C.L.
Richard M. Burgess, East Tilbury, Can.		Daniel L. Jones, Utica, N. Y.
Zenah Crowell, Liverpool, N. S. McG.C.		Charles E. Libby, Brewer, Me.
John G. Evans, Scranton, Pa. W.R.C.		A. G. McGown, Scituate, Mass.
Lewis D. Evans, Summit Hill, Pa. W.R.C.		Osgood W. Rogers, Hampden, Me. B.C. 1872
Arthur G. Fitz, Manchester, N. H. D.C. 1872		L. W. Smith, Richford, Vt.
George Hindley, Oustic, Ont.		David T. Williams, Blosburg, Pa.
		George H. Wilson, Salem, Mass.
		(12) Total, 40.

III. THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS.

Opened for instruction, October, 1858.

FACULTY.

Rev. SAMUEL C. BARTLETT, D. D., New England Professor of Biblical Literature.—1858.
 Rev. FRANKLIN W. FISK, D. D., Wisconsin Professor of Sacred Rhetoric.—1858.
 Rev. JAMES T. HYDE, D. D., Iowa Professor of Pastoral Theology and Special Studies.—1870.
 Rev. GEORGE N. BOARDMAN, D. D., Illinois Professor of Systematic Theology.—1871.

Rev. THEODORE W. HOPKINS, Instructor in Ecclesiastical History.

Prof. EDWARD M. BOOTH, A. M., Instructor in Elocution.

Rev. GEORGE S. F. SAVAGE, D. D., Advance Building, 107 Fifth Avenue, Chicago, Financial Secretary and Treasurer.

RESIDENT LICENTIATES.

Walter M. Barrows, Olivet, Mich.
 Albert Bushnell, Chicago, Ill.
 Elijah Jones, Chicago, Ill.
 Thomas Nield, Plainview, Minn.
 (4) SENIOR CLASS.

Julius C. Armstrong, Lyonsville, Ill. — — —
 Marvin D. Bisbee, Springfield, Vt. D.C. 1871
 John W. Bradshaw, Chicago, M.C. 1869
 Albert Jerome Chittenden, Ripon, Wis.
 William Gallagher, Jr., Boston, Mass.
 Henry Martin Goodell, Ann Arbor, Mich.
 Watson Birchard Millard, Milwaukee, Wis.
 Horace Hutchinson Robbins, Muscatine, Iowa,
 Andrew J. Smith, Lima, Wis.
 Orville Sylvester Smith, Delavan, Wis.
 (10) MIDDLE CLASS.

Charles Henry Abbott, Andover, Mass.
 James Theodore Clifton, Darlington, Wis.
 Gilbert Tompkins Holcombe, Chicago, Ill.
 David D. Jones, Morris Run, Penn.
 Edgar Harland Klimer, St. Charles, Ill.
 Godfrey C. Knobel, Chicago, Ill. N.W.C. 1870
 Emerson F. Smith, Benzonia, Mich. O.L.C. 1871
 Julius Eugene Storm, Chesterfield, Mich.
 Seth Morrell Wilcox, New Milford, Ill.
 (9)

JUNIOR CLASS.

Russell Lee Cheney, Emerald Grove, Wis. Bel.C. 1872
 Richard Roderick Davies, Bevier, Mo. Mar.C. 1872
 Hiram James Ferris, Milton, Wis. — — —
 Benj. Farrington Sargent, Chicago, Ill. Ham.C. 1873
 Charles Sherrill, Lisbon, Ill. Bel.C. 1873
 Alfred Mallory Smith, Delavan, Wis. Bel.C. 1869
 Henry Wilson, Washington, D. C. — — —
 (7)

SPECIAL COURSE.

Ledyard Ely Benton, Lake Mills, Wis.
 John B. Bidwell, Goodland, Ind.
 Robert Kirk, Chicago.
 Gilbert Rindell, Jr., Williamsburg, Ia.
 (4)

SECOND YEAR.

Daniel W. Gilmore, Chicago.
 Theodore C. Northcott, Springfield.
 James Schneider, Decorah, Ia.
 Walter S. Shotwell, Lawrence, Kansas.
 (4)

FIRST YEAR.

David Reed Anderson, Otsego, Mich.
 Arthur Isaac Brown, Newfield, N. Y.
 Desevigne Fisk Harris, Columbus, Ohio.
 Edward Kimball Miles, Iowa.
 Abner Malon Pipes, Tonica, Ill.
 Charles Henry Rogers, Coon Creek, Mo.
 Henry Manville Skeels, Dundee, Ill.
 Willis Wilcox Woodruff, Anoka, Minn.
 (8) Total, 42.

IV. THEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF CONNECTICUT, HARTFORD, CT.
 Opened for instruction in 1834.

FACULTY.

Rev. WILLIAM THOMPSON, D. D., Nettleton Professor of the Hebrew Language and Literature.—1834.

Rev. ROBERT G. VERMILYEE, D. D., Riley Professor of Christian Theology.—1857.

Rev. ——. Hosmer Professor of Preaching, and the Pastoral Charge.

Rev. THOMAS S. CHILDS, D. D., Waldo Professor of Biblical and Ecclesiastical History.—1872.

Rev. MATTHEW B. RIDDLE, D. D., Professor of New Testament Exegesis.—1872.

SENIOR CLASS.

Frederick H. Allen, Lawrence, Mass.	—	Israel N. Terry, Lyme, Ct.	A.C. 187 ¹
	—	Frederick H. Wales, Elmira, N. Y.	D.C. 1872
	—	George W. Winch, Northfield, Vt.	U.Vt. 1870

Frank J. Grimes, Keene, N. H.

John H. Goodell, Stafford Springs,
Ct.

Louis W. Hicks, Worcester, Mass.

John E. Hurlbut, New London, Ct.
(5)

MIDDLE CLASS.

Henry W. Eldridge, Kensington,
N. H.

Edward S. Hume, New Haven, Ct.

Peter McLean Donald, Ithaca, N. Y.

U.C. —

Y.C. 1870

Arthur W. Blair, Newbury, Vt.

Leverett Bradley, Jr., Methuen,

Mass.

Franklin S. Hatch, Chelsea, Vt.

Ferdinand T. Lathe, Southbridge,

Mass.

John Marsland, Chester, Ct.

Charles B. Strong, Coleraine, Mass.

A.C. 1873

(6)

Total, 17.

JUNIOR CLASS.

Y.C. 1872

D.C. 1872

A.C. 1873

1874.] *Congregational Theological Seminaries in 1873-74.* 309

William Burke Danforth, Royalton, Vt.	D.C. 1871	John Jay Joyce, Philadelphia, Pa. U.P. Henry Martin Ladd, Constantinople, Turkey, M.C. 1872
Marshall Richard Gaines, New Haven, Ct.	Y.C. 1865	Lucius Orren Lee, Kenosha, Wis. O.C. 1872 Charles Lincoln Morgan, Minne- apolis, Minn. Bel.C. 1871
William Greenwood, Boston, Mass. A.C. 1871		Charles Fitch Morse, Stafford Springs, Ct. A.C. 1872
Simon Byron Hershey, Chippewa, O. O.C. 1870		William Dexter Mosman, Chicopee, Mass. A.C. 1870
Aaron Merritt Hills, Mt. Vernon, O. O.C. 1871		James Oakey, Terre Haute, Ind. Y.C. 1872
Joel Stone Ives, Castine, Me. A.C. 1870		Marshall Reuben Peck, Brookfield, Vt. D.C. 1870
James C. McNaughton Johnston, New Wilmington, Pa. Westm.C.		Lester Beach Platt, Baltimore, Md. — —
George Edwin McLean, Great Bar- rington, Mass.	W.C. 1871	Frank Caleb Potter, North Wood- stock, Ct. Y.C. 1871
John Newton McLoney, Eddyville, Iowa.	Io.C. 1871	Frederic Brown Pullan, Janesville, Wis. Bel.C. 1871
Charles William Mallory, Hamden, N. Y.	A.C. 1871	Edward Payson Root, Montague, Mass. A.C. 1871
George Michael, Shawnee, Pa. P.C. 1871		John Ogilvie Stevenson, Noank, Ct. O.C. —
James William Morris, Bridgeport, Ct.	Line.U.	Albert Henry Thompson, Searsport, Me. A.C. 1872
Howard Walter Pope, Westville, Ct. Y.C. 1871		Alwin Ethelstan Todd, Ludlow, Mass. Y.C. 1871
Roswell Olcott Post, Logansport, Ind.		Hibbard Austin Tucker, Beloit, Wis. Bel.C. 1872
	Wab.C. 1871	Louis Bryant Tuckerman, Austin- burg, O. A.C. 1872
Stephen Henry Robinson, West Woodstock, Ct.	D.C. —	Nathan Hart Whittlesey, New Pres- ton, Ct. Y.C. 1871
Richard Bailey Snell, New Sharon, Iowa.	Io.C. 1870	Sedgwick Porter Wilder, Eau Claire, Wis. Bel.C. 1871
John Wolcott Starr, Guilford, Ct.	Y.C. 1871	(37)
John Philander Trowbridge, Pom- fret, Ct.	A.C. —	
(24) MIDDLE CLASS.		JUNIOR CLASS.
George Crawford Adams, Castine, Me.	A.C. 1871	George Burton Adams, Pecatonica, Ill. Bel.C. 1873
Kerr Cranston Anderson, West Haven, Vt.	M.C. 1872	Andrew Webster Archibald, New Kingston, N. Y. U.C.
Doane Rich Atkins, Truro, Mass.	A.C. 1873	Frederick Elisha Bangs, Summer Hill, N. Y. — —
Arthur Jared Benedict, Bethel, Ct.	A.C. 1872	David Nelson Beach, South Orange, N. J. Y.C. 1872
Jacob Albert Biddle, Gallion, O.	O.C. —	Clarence Winthrop Bowen, Brook- lyn, N. Y. Y.C. 1873
Frank Louis Bristol, New Haven, Ct.	— —	Samuel Joshua Bryant, Vermillion, O. O.C. 1873
William Patrick Clancy, Miller's Falls, Mass.	A.C. 1872	Rolla George Bugbee, Bridgewater, Vt. D.C. 1871
Solomon Melvin Coles, Guilford, Ct.	Line.U.	Ezra Bailey Chase, Exeter, N. H. Mar.C. 1873
William Bayard Craig, St. John, N. B.	Io St. Uni.	George Larkin Clark, Tewksbury, Mass. A.C. 1872
Gilbert Allen Curtiss, West Stock- bridge, Mass.	— —	David Gochenauer, M. D., Abbotts- town, Pa. — —
Oren Dennis Fisher, Johnstown, Mich.	O.I.C.	George Herbert Grannis, Oberlin, O. O.C. 1872
Joseph Allen Freeman, Caledonia, N. S.	D.C. 1872	John Milton Hart, West Cornwall, Ct. Y.C. 1867
Lorin Samuel Gates, Hartland, Ct.	W.C. 1871	Henry Harrison Haynes, Tilton, N. H. H.C. —
George Edward Hall, Oberlin, O.	O.C. 1872	
Charles Hezekiah Hamlin, Plainville, Ct.	Y.C. 1871	
Samuel Lee Hillyer, Grinnell, Iowa.	O.C. 1872	
David Sumner Holbrook, Chester, Mass.	Y.C. 1872	
William Taylor Jackson, Poolesville, Ind.	W'n.C.	

310 *Congregational Theological Seminaries in 1873-74.* [April,

Zephaniah Swift Holbrook, Chicago, Ill.		Charles Henry Oliphant, Orange, N. J.	
John Wesley Horner, Lanesville, Ind.	U.L. —	John Punnett Peters, New York City,	Y.C. 1873
William Tucker Hutchins, New Haven, Ct.	— —	Chauncey J. Richardson, Newbury, Vt.	D.C. 1873
Joseph Henry Isham, New Haven, Ct.	Y.C. 1865	James Hudson Roberts, Hartford, Henry Aaron Rogers, Granville, O.	Y.C. 1873
Joseph Brainerd Ives, Cornwall, Ct.	Bel.C. 1873	William Clayton Rogers, Oberlin, O. William Henry Singley, Moulton, Iowa,	Den.U. Witt.C.
Robert Roy Kendall, Ridgefield, Ct.	Y.C. 1872	Goodwin Delos Swezey, Rockford, Ill.	Bel.C.
Samuel Theodore Kidder, Poplar Grove, Ill.	W'n.C.	Enoch Melville Tenney, Morris- ville, Vt.	M.C.
Reuben Knox, St. Louis, Mo.	Y.C. 1873	Thomas Pitman Vaille, Springfield, Mass.	Y.C. 1873
Enoch Faber Light, Fredericksburg, Pa.	U.W.	James Heartt Van Buren, Cin- cinnati, O.	Y.C. 1873
William A. Lyman, Bloomington, Wis.	Mar.C. 1872	William Louis Woodruff, New Haven, Ct.	
Daniel Charles McKay, Belpre, O.	Bel.C. 1873	Total, 99.	
Gregory Michaelian, Adabazar, Turkey,	(38)		
Frederick Wesson Newcomb, Bar- nard, Vt.	D.C. 1872		

VI. PACIFIC THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA.

Opened for instruction, June, 1869.

FACULTY.

Rev. JOSEPH A. BENTON, D. D., Professor of Sacred Literature.—1869.
Rev. GEORGE A. MOOAR, D. D., Professor of Theology.—1870.

Rev. ANDREW L. STONE, D. D., Lecturer on the Work of the Preacher.
Rev. THOMAS K. NOBLE, Lecturer on the Work of the Pastor.
Rev. EDWARD P. BAKER, Lecturer on the Lands of the Bible.
Rev. JOHN K. MCLEAN, Lecturer on the Polity of the Churches.
Rev. JAMES H. WARREN, Lecturer on the Home Missionary Work.

SENIOR CLASS.

James C. Ferguson, San Francisco, Cal.

MIDDLE CLASS.

None.

JUNIOR CLASS.

W. R. Blain, Eugene, Or.
J. N. Haskins, San José, Cal. O.W.U. 1870
A. E. Kellogg, San José, Cal. Tab.C. 1873
C. T. K. Tracy, San Francisco, Cal. Un.Cal. 1865

PREPARATORY CLASS.

Clarence A. Clary, Petaluma, Cal.
James C. Ferrell, Astoria, Or.
Tara T. Frickstad, Oakland, Cal.
Charles D. Hudoff, Oakland, Cal.
Jee Gam, Oakland, Cal.
William H. Marshall, San Francisco, Cal.
Newton Peck, Sacramento, Cal.
David Wilkie, San Francisco, Cal.
(8)

(4) Total, 5.

VII. THEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT OF OBERLIN COLLEGE,
OBERLIN, OHIO.

Opened for instruction in 1835.

FACULTY.

- Rev. JAMES H. FAIRCHILD, D. D., President (1866), Avery Professor of Moral Philosophy (1858), and Professor of Systematic Theology. — 1858. (Was Tutor in the College 1839-'42; Professor in the College, 1842-'58.)
 Rev. CHARLES G. FINNEY, Professor of Pastoral Theology. — 1835. (Was Professor of Theology, 1835-1869.) [— 1835.
 Rev. JOHN MORGAN, D. D., Professor of New Testament Literature and Biblical Theology.
 Rev. ELIJAH P. BARROWS, D. D., Professor of Hebrew, and Old Test. Literature. — 1872.
 Rev. HIRAM MEAD, D. D., Professor of Sacred Rhetoric. — 1869.
 Rev. JUDSON SMITH, Professor of Church History, and Lecturer on General History. — 1870.

JAMES R. SEVERANCE, Instructor in Elocution.

Rev. HENRY COWLES, D. D., Lecturer on Prophecy.

Rev. WILLIAM W. PATTON, D. D., Lecturer on Modern Scepticism.

Rev. A. HASTINGS ROSS, Special Lecturer on Church Polity.

SENIOR CLASS.

John W. Cowan, Wheaton, Ill.	O.C. 1871	Benjamin Franklin Herrick, Saybrook, O.	———
Morritt Ernst Eversz, Pittsfield, O.	R.I.C. 1871	Owen Jenkins, Plainfield, N. Y.	———
Barzillai M. Long, Fremont Ill.	———	Lindsey Arnold Roberts, Knoxville, Tenn.	———
Edward B. Payne, Wakeman, O.	Io.C. —	Delos Adelbert Strong, North Adams, Mich.	Hills.C. —
Arthur Tappan Reed, Austintburg, O.	O.C. 1870	George John Webster, Grand Rapids, Mich.	———
William Drake Westervelt, Oberlin, O.	O.C. 1871	(7)	

(6)

JUNIOR CLASS.

Andrew James Hadley, Oberlin, O.	———	James G. Bowersox, Fitchville, O. Ott.U. 1871	
A. R. Harutun Hohannesian, Aintab, Turkey,	———	Israel Brown, Wedron, Ill.	Wh.C. 1872
Lewis Thomas Mason, Oberlin, O.	———	Charles Cole Creegan, Lebanon, O.	———
(3)		Samuel S. Cryer, Mayville, Ky.	O.C. 1873
		Burritt Hamilton Fee, Berea, Ky.	Ber.C. 1873
		Nathaniel Demster Lanphear, Olivet, Mich.	———

MIDDLE CLASS.

Samuel J. Beach, Pittsfield, O.	N.Y.C. 1872	Ol.C. 1873	
Theodore Elijah Burton, Oberlin, O.	O.C. 1872	Rodolph Menk, Casco, Mich.	———
John Morgan Cumings, Tabor, Io.	O.C. 1872	William Brewster Oleson, Portland, Me.	———
Joseph F. Gibbs, Agawam, Mass.	———	Milan Packard, Covert, Mich.	O.C. 1872
Albert L. Gridley, Oberlin, O.	O.C. 1872	Edward Anson Paddock, Baraboo, Wis.	O.C. 1872
Simeon Sanderson Haines, Marshfield, Ind.	O.C. 1870	Jacob P. Riedinger, Randolph, O.	O.C. 1872
Jonathan Edwards Higgins, Spencertown, N. Y.	* —	Augustus Goodnow Upton, Eaton Rapids, Mich.	O.C. 1873
Eben Leander Hill, St. Clair, Mich.	U.M. 1872	William Rockwell, Oberlin, O.	O.C. 1873
Brainerd T. McClelland, Russia, O.	O.C. 1869	McLissa W. Creegan, Lebanon, O.	———
Stephen Decatur Smith, Manchester, Mo.	Hills.C. 1872	(Lebanon Normal School, 1871.)	
Woodford Demaree Smock, Fairfield, Io.	O.C. 1872	Anne Oliver, Cincinnati, O.	R.F.C. 1860
Jacob Winslow, Henrietta, N. Y.	O.C. 1872	(15)	

(12)

Eugene Fred. Atwood, Oberlin, O.	———	Orville Carlton Clark, Oberlin, O.	———
Abraham Augustine Cressman, Rochester, Mich.	———	Obadiah Hobbs, Ypsilanti, Mich.	———

(3)

Total, 46.

312 *Congregational Theological Seminaries in 1873-74.* [April,

SUMMARY FOR THE YEAR 1873-4.

SEMINARIES.	Professors.	Lecturers.	Resident Licentiates.	STUDENTS.					Volumes in Library.	Anniversary in 1874.
				Senior.	Middle.	Junior.	Special Course.	TOTAL.		
Andover	7	3	6	23	27	21	7	78	30,000	Thursday, July 2.
Bangor	5	1	14	14	12	0	40	14,000	14,000	Thursday, June 4.
Chicago	4	2	4	10	9	7	16	42	4,500	Thursday, April 30.
Hartford	5	—	0	5	6	6	0	17	7,000	Thursday, May 28.
New Haven	6	2	2	24	37	38	0	99	College	Thursday, May 14.
Oakland	2	5	0	1	4	0	0	5	2,000	Thursday, May 24.
Oberlin	6	4	0	6	12	15	13	46	College	See "Terms," etc.
Total, 7	35	16	12	83	105	103	36	327		

COLLEGE GRADUATION OF THE THEOLOGICAL STUDENTS.

COLLEGES.	COLLEGES.								Total.
	Andover.	Bangor.	Chicago.	Hartford.	New Haven.	Oakland.	Oberlin.		
Amherst	12	—	—	—	5	—	—	—	30
Beloit	4	—	—	—	8	—	—	—	18
Berea	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Bowdoin	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
Brown University	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5
California University	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Columbia	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Dartmouth	4	1	1	2	—	6	—	—	14
Denison University	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	1
Hamilton	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Harvard	8	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	9
Heidelberg University	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Hillsdale	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Iowa	2	—	—	1	—	2	—	—	5
Iowa State University	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
Lincoln University	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	2
Macon	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
Marietta	1	—	—	2	—	2	—	—	4
Michigan University	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
Middlebury	1	—	—	1	—	3	—	—	5
New York City	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
New York University	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Northwestern, Ill.	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
Oberlin	6	—	—	—	9	—	—	16	31
Ohio Wesleyan University	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Olivet	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	3
Otterbein University	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Pennsylvania College	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	2
Pennsylvania University	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	2
Ripon	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	2
Rutger Female	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Tabor	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Union	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Vermont University	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	2
Wabash	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
Waynesburg	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Western	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	2
Western Reserve	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
Westminster	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
Wheaton	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	3
Williams	2	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	4
Wisconsin University	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
Wittenberg	2	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	3
Yale	5	8	—	—	2	21	—	—	28
Partial College Education	5	—	—	—	4	—	—	2	21
No College Education	12	26	24	5	12	2	19	5	100
TOTAL STUDENTS	78	40	42	17	99	5	46	827	

SUMMARIES FOR THE YEARS OF THIS PUBLICATION.

YEARS.	Summaries.	Professors.	Lecturers, etc.	Resident Licentiates.	STUDENTS.				TOTAL.
					Senior.	Middle.	Junior.	Special Course.	
1855-9	6	24	10	15	67	75	99	9	250
1859-60	6	24	10	24	68	90	94	9	261
1860-1.	6	24	7	14	93	100	94	11	298
1861-2.	6	25	9	18	96	95	81	3	275
1862-3.	6	23	11	16	90	103	58	1	242
1863-4.	6	24	9	10	80	53	58	2	193
1864-5.	6	24	9	19	66	58	43	-	162
1865-6.	6	22	10	19	53	58	84	10	205
1866-7.	6	25	10	16	51	98	85	8	212
1867-8.	6	26	11	9	97	92	65	4	255
1868-9.	6	31	11	16	87	68	65	18	238
1869-70	7	31	9	7	74	72	81	13	210
1870-1.	7	32	11	18	72	73	93	29	272
1871-2.	7	34	12	16	74	89	92	23	278
1872-3.	7	35	11	13	93	88	116	32	329
1873-4.	7	35	16	12	83	105	103	36	327

It will be seen that the decided increase of last year nearly holds its own. The lower classes more than maintain it.

ADMISSION.

DENOMINATIONS.—ANDOVER is “open for the admission of Protestants of all denominations”; expected to produce evidence of “regular membership in a church of Christ,” but “exception is made in some cases.” BANGOR is “open to Protestants of every denomination”; “expected to produce testimony of their regular standing in some Evangelical church.” CHICAGO is “open to students of all denominations,” “of good moral character.” HARTFORD expects candidates for admission to “produce evidence that they are members of some Christian church.” NEW HAVEN requires “membership in some Evangelical church, or other satisfactory evidence of Christian character”; and receives “students of every Christian denomination.” OAKLAND,—“credible evidence of piety,” and “membership in some Evangelical church.” OBERLIN,—“expected to bring a certificate of membership in some Evangelical church.”

PREVIOUS EDUCATION.—The Seminaries require a previous collegiate education, or evidence of sufficient attainments to enable the student successfully to pursue all the studies of the Theological Course. Several of the Seminaries, however, have a “Special Course,” shorter or less complete than the regular Three Years’ Course, and requiring a less extended previous education. Of the non-graduates in the preceding table, the “Special Course” includes,—Andover, 6; Chicago, 16; Oberlin, 13.

TERMS AND VACATIONS.

ANDOVER.—The first term of the present Seminary year will end on Thursday, March 12, 1874, and be followed by a vacation of three weeks. The second term will commence on Thursday, April 2, 1874, and continue until the Anniversary, July 2, 1874, to be followed by a vacation of nine weeks. The first term of the next Seminary year will begin on Thursday, September 3, 1874.

BANGOR.—There is but one vacation in the year, commencing at the Anniversary and continuing fifteen weeks. The Anniversary is on the Thursday following the first Wednesday in June, — June 4, 1874.

CHICAGO.—Two terms, the "Lecture" term, and the "Reading" term the Lecture term commencing the second Wednesday in September, and continuing till the last Thursday in April; the Reading term extending from the first Wednesday in June to the beginning of the Lecture term, — a vacation of six weeks intervening between the close of the Lecture term and the commencement of the Reading term. The Lecture term is to be devoted to attendance on the regular exercises of the Seminary. The Reading term is intended to be passed by the student under the supervision of some pastor, under whose care he may pursue the course of study prescribed by the Faculty, while at the same time acquainting himself with the details and practical duties of pastoral life. Anniversary, last Thursday in April.

The "Alumni Institute" opens on the Tuesday evening nearest the 20th of October, and continues four days.

HARTFORD.—One term of study in the year, which begins on the third Thursday of September and closes on the fourth Thursday of May.

NEW HAVEN.—There is but one term of study. The session of 1873-4 commenced on Thursday, September 11, 1873, and will continue till the second Thursday of May [May 14], 1874, when the public Anniversary will be held. The next annual term will begin on Thursday, September 10, 1874. (College Library, 60,000 volumes; Library of College Literary Societies, 18,000; Seminary Reference Library, 2,000.)

OAKLAND.—The year consists of but one term, beginning with the third Thursday in August and ending with the fourth Thursday in May. [May 28, 1874, Anniversary.] There is a recess of two weeks at the holidays.

OBERLIN.—Terms and Vacations are the same with those of the College. Fall term began Tuesday, September 2, 1873; vacation began Saturday, November 22, 1873. Spring term began Tuesday, February 17, 1874; Spring recess, Saturday, May 9, 1874. Summer term begins Wednesday, May 13, 1874; vacation, Thursday, August 6, 1874. Anniversary of the Theological Society, Thursday, May 7, 1874. *Concio ad Clerum*, Tuesday, August 4, 1874; Commencement, Wednesday, August 5. (College Library, 11,000 volumes.)

CONGREGATIONAL NECROLOGY.

Rev. JOSEPH CALVIN COOPER died at Cincinnati, Iowa, Aug. 23, 1872, in his 53d year. He was born in Plymouth, Mass., May 10, 1820. His parents were Joseph and Sylvia (Paty) Cooper. His mother died when he was five months old, and his father when he was nine years old. A maiden sister of his father became his foster mother. In early life he rejected the Bible, and cherished doubts as to the existence of a God. He had the ordinary privileges of the town school until he was fifteen years of age; then worked in a harness shop two years. At the age of seventeen he became a sailor, and he continued to lead a sea-faring life most of the time for eight years. When overtaken by a storm and all hope of safety was given up, he lashed himself to his chest, and promised God that if he would spare his life, he would devote himself to his service. He was spared, but he forgot his vows, and all trace of his convictions became as invisible as the wake of the vessel in which he had sailed. He loved a sailor's life and a sailor's vices.

He was married April 10, 1845, to Miss Rachel Van Dyke, of Denmark, Iowa, and settled down in life in Denmark, apparently with the determination to live without God in the world.

One rainy day he strayed into a religious meeting conducted by the writer of this sketch. The subject under consideration was prayer, and the discourse was addressed to Christians. While speaking from my notes, the thought was suggested to me that I ought to apply the subject to the unconverted; accordingly I remarked, "The man who swears is under as much obligation to pray as the man who preaches. The former needs the influence of prayer much more, and even such an one God is ready to hear through Christ."

Mr. Cooper went away from that meeting saying to himself, "This is strange doctrine! What, such a sinner as I am, pray,—who don't know as there's a God to pray to! Well, if there is no God, prayer will be but empty breath, it will do me no hurt; if there is a God, it may do good. I will try it." He went home, took his Bible, and said to his wife, "I am going to set up family prayer." He read a chapter, knelt and prayed, and continued the practice until he prayed himself into the kingdom. After six or eight weeks of praying and struggling, while in the act of prayer, light broke in upon his mind, and he consecrated himself to Him who heareth prayer and rewardeth them that diligently seek Him. He soon united with the church in

Denmark, and daily grew in grace and in the knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ.

In 1848 he engaged as a colporteur of the American Tract Society. Rev. Glen Wood, District Secretary, says, "I remember him as one of the most practical, earnest, and efficient of laborers. He was especially successful with sceptics, having himself been rescued from the meshes of infidelity." His field was Southern Iowa. His labors are now remembered with interest and affection. He continued in the service of the Society two years. This was a good training-school for him. He learned how to gain access to the hearts of men, and to grapple with their difficulties. Subsequently, he passed through a season of deep dejection, a fearful struggle with the powers of darkness. For weeks he was under a cloud. Earnest prayer was offered for him by the church. At length the cloud lifted and light shone forth. With the return of hope came the conviction that he must preach the Gospel. He had a wife and one or two children, and about as much property as Elijah had when the ravens fed him. He studied theology in his little home from March to August, and then commenced preaching in the pulpit at Denmark during the pastor's vacation. The people had known him as an unbeliever; they knew all about him, and yet they were entirely satisfied with his ministrations; and from that day to his death no one was more heartily welcomed in the pulpit at Denmark than he. There was a kindness in his manner, a heartiness in his words, which won the love of all.

In October, 1852, he was approved on trial as a preacher by the Denmark Association, and was ordained May 1, 1853.

He felt himself called to destitute regions and to labor with feeble churches. He never sought a place, but places sought him. He was known in all the southern section of Iowa, and beloved, and is now lamented. His roving sailor habits followed him through life. He had gathered a church in Salem, secured a house of worship and a home, but he felt he must leave. All the people wanted him to remain there, but he declared, "I never saw a place in my life where I wanted to stay more than three weeks." The difficulty was that when he felt that he must go into his study and prepare two sermons a week, it so affected his nervous system that he could do nothing. Let him take his horse and ride around among the people, feeling that there was no special claim on him, and he would have a sermon ready,—a good one.

He was always about his Master's work. In the summer of 1865 I was to meet him at a given place in Boston, Mass., at nine o'clock at night. It was very dark and somewhat rainy. I found him beside the railroad track, laboring with a stranger to bring him to Christ.

To some he seemed to fail in proper care for temporal things. He was no financier; he was an unworldly sinner, and became an unworldly saint.

Before conversion he fed on the faults of Christians: after conversion, he seemed almost blind to their faults. He had naturally a clear, discriminating, active mind, and a good memory. His ocean life helped him to many illustrations which interested landsmen. His success was due, first, to his knowledge of human nature and his sound sense; secondly, to his entire consecration to his work. He was willing to make any sacrifice in his power for the cause of Christ.

His labors in Fairfield in 1856 resulted in the addition of twenty-five to the church, including some of its most valuable present members. He was settled for some years in Hillsboro', but acted chiefly as an evangelist.

In his last sickness he was perfectly resigned and cheerful. His mind was clear, and his only regret that he could do no more for his Master on earth. He had eight children, seven of whom, with their mother, survive to mourn his loss.

A. T.

Mrs. SOPHIA (MURDOCK) CROSS was born at Townsend, Vermont, Nov. 5, 1809, and died at Richfield, New York, May 31, 1873. She was the daughter of Samuel and Lois (Mason) Murdock, and the sixth child of a family of eight children, two of whom are still living. At the age of fifteen she removed with her eldest sister, Mrs. Nurse, to Utica, New York. The next year, under the preaching of Rev. Mr. Padock, she experienced religion. At the age of twenty-one she united with the church at Utica. In her twenty-first year she went to Gouverneur, where her brother, Dr. Hiram Murdock, was practising medicine. Here she attended school in the academy, and taught school about one year. Sept. 13, 1831, she was married to Gorham Cross, who a few years later entered the Congregational ministry. After their marriage they lived in Philadelphia, New York, in Frankfort near Utica, in Philadelphia again, and in March, 1840, removed to Richville, where Mr. Cross has preached thirty-five years, and where they resided until her death, with the exception of three years, from 1849 to 1852, which were spent at Rensselaer Falls, where Mr. Cross was preaching half the time.

A few months before her death she wrote to some of her children that when they were young she prayed that herself and husband might be spared until the children were come to manhood and womanhood. The prayer was answered. For forty-two years after

the family was organized, death did not enter it. Her seven children, the eldest thirty-nine, the youngest twenty-three, came from their Western homes, and were all with her a week or two before her death, taking almost the entire care of her in her last days. Her two brothers were also permitted to minister to her as practising physicians.

For several hours before her death she suffered intensely, but as the end drew near she became easier. Her last words were, "Lord God on High," "Lord Jesus," "Glory, glory," and again, in a fainter voice, "Glory, glory."

A very large assembly, including many from the surrounding towns, attended the funeral. Rev. E. N. Manly, who was influenced by Mrs. Cross to prepare for the ministry, preached the funeral sermon from Prov. xii:28.

As a minister's wife she was truly a helpmeet. Her superior native gifts and early culture, and especially her good sense and sound judgment, were valuable endowments for such a relation. The same qualities rendered her notable as a mother. For years the nursery was her home; always her children were her jewels. For and through them she lived; in them she still lives. After the example of their parents, they all became successful teachers, and all, at the time of their mother's death, had a hope in Christ. All the relatives who, as mourners, followed her to the grave could look joyfully forward to a reunion with their departed friend in the heavenly world. "Her children rise up and call her blessed; her husband also, and he praiseth her." Indirectly, and directly too, she inspired many other youths to high purposes and earnest endeavors. Later in life, relieved of the care of her children, she enjoyed the exercise of early tastes, devoting herself to art, reading, and study. She had a love of the beautiful. She especially delighted in flowers, pictures, and minerals. In her leisure moments she wrought many things of beauty, which remain as precious mementoes to her family.

In the Bible class and prayer-meeting she was a ready helper of Christian thought and experience. She had a strong sense of the sublimity of the Divine nature, while her faith in a suffering and sin-forgiving Saviour was steadfast and unshaken. "The memory of the just is blessed."

R. T. C.

Mrs. MEDIA (STIMSON) RUSSELL, wife of the Rev. Frank Russell, of the Park Church, Brooklyn, New York, died, while on a summer visit, at Jonesville, Michigan, Aug. 28, 1873. She was born on the 28th of July, 1841, at Warsaw, Wyoming County, New York, where

her father, the Rev. H. K. Stimson, was pastor of the Baptist Church. Her mother was Nancy P. (Olney) Stimson. In 1855 the family removed to Marion, Wayne County, where, as the pupil of the Collegiate Institute, the little girl was distinguished for her proficiency in study and loved for her peculiarly sweet disposition. Two years later Mr. Stimson's family removed to Racine, Wisconsin, where Media graduated at the City High School. She afterwards completed her course of study at Wyoming Seminary. Two years were spent in Kansas in writing and teaching. She was married May 15, 1866, in New York, to Mr. Frank Russell, then a student of Union Theological Seminary. The early training in a minister's family had specially qualified her for a pastor's wife. During his pastorate of the Plymouth Church, in Philadelphia, and later of the Park Church, in Brooklyn, New York, Mr. Russell always found in her a wise counsellor and an efficient helper. She took upon herself the wear and worry of parish work, sharing her husband's crosses with him so uncomplainingly that neither he nor others knew the burden she carried. The journals found since her death have revealed what her lips, sealed to all complaining, never uttered.

Such devotion to every good work, the constant effort to do more in the parish, the entertainment of many friends, the nursing of her two young children through severe illness, wore upon her slender vital force, until, in December, 1872, she began perceptibly to decline. Her physician advised a long rest, and early in June she started with the children on a visit to friends in Central Kansas. Journeying homeward in August, she stopped at Jonesville, Michigan, and her feebleness so increased that her husband was summoned. After the first greeting she told him that her end was very near. Death for her had no terrors, for heaven was just beyond it, and the innumerable company of the redeemed were waiting to receive her. Calmly she planned for the future of her family, sent messages of love to friends, bade her two little ones goodbye, and at the evening hour, not having had a moment of unconsciousness, and without a quiver or gasp, sank into her last sleep. Funeral services were held at the Park Church, Brooklyn, on the following Sabbath, and her body was consigned to its resting-place in Greenwood Cemetery.

A memorial volume, to contain the funeral sermon, extracts from her writings, and tributes from friends, is in course of preparation.

M. H. W.

Mrs. MARY ANNE (HILL) WINDSOR, wife of Rev. John Wesley Windsor, died at Keosauqua, Iowa, Nov. 17, 1873, in her sixty-ninth year. She was the daughter of William and Mary (Binsted) Hill, and was born at Petersfield, Hampshire, England, May 3, 1805.

A child of the covenant, she was faithfully trained in its duties and privileges by a godly mother, whose example and memory were ever cherished with reverential love.

At the age of eighteen she made a public profession of her faith in Christ, and united with the Independent Church of her native town, under the pastoral care of the Rev. Joseph Greenwood. Of the ministry of her youth she always retained vivid and tenderly grateful memories, and was herself a witness to the clear and eminently scriptural instructions of her beloved pastor.

She was married to Mr. Windsor, February 17, 1827, passing almost the entire first ten years of her married life in the home of her childhood. In the spring of 1844 they came to America, and in May of that year settled in Dubuque County, Iowa. It was in the winter of 1847 that her husband received a commission from the American Home Missionary Society, from which date to that of her death her life was most intimately and devotedly associated with Home Missionary experiences in that State. In the joys and the discouragements, in the toils and in the rewards of this Christ-like work, she fully shared; for the extension of its blessings she lived, and in its service she hopefully died.

The mental and Christian traits of the subject of this sketch were moulded very largely by the character and surroundings of her early home, and by natural temperament. She enjoyed the opportunity of a thorough and cultured education; she was nurtured in the bosom of an unassuming piety; her first years were passed amid the influences of a landscape whose power upon character has been so beautifully acknowledged by Leigh Richmond, in the "Dairyman's Daughter." When to these is added a temperament that shrank, with the sensitiveness of an instinct, from whatever might call attention to herself, to which notoriety was actual pain, we should expect that both choice and culture would develop the corresponding graces. They were such as shone with a mild rather than a brilliant light; they were unfolded in the daily routine, in the ceaseless claims of home duties. Her husband surely trusted her; to him she was, whether in the relations of wife, or in those of the missionary work so dear to both, in the noblest conception of womanly prerogative and of Christian helpfulness, faithful. To her children she was a fond and true mother; her lips first taught them the love of Jesus; her gentle life won them to it.

Forty and six years the Lord preserved her to her family. Thirty of them were passed in the laborious yet hopeful experiences of the Home Missionary's wife. Her last sickness was mercifully short. Living at the time in the family of her youngest daughter, whose husband was her physician, all that filial attention and professional skill could suggest was done. From the first of her illness, however, she thought her recovery hopeless, and when informed that it was so she received the news without fear. With no fervid feeling or expression she commanded the present and the absent ones to the God of Jacob, to "my mother's God." To her husband, who asked her, "Your trust alone is in the precious Saviour?" with emphasis she instantly replied, "Yes, it is." One of her sons, who had arrived from a distant State in season to receive her last testimony, said to her, "Mother, do you feel the everlasting arms underneath you?" In the fast waning of every power, she gathered strength to leave the testimony, as she whispered, "Yes." Death itself seemed to be robbed of its terrors. Not once during her sickness did she speak of dying, but always of "going home." And thus was the grace given and the strength made perfect, as quietly and peacefully she "slept in Jesus." And from that chamber of sickness another was received into the circle of the Marys, whose joys on earth and whose bliss in heaven are that they may "sit at Jesus' feet and hear his words."

J. H. W.

Dea. JULIUS WOOD died at Smyrna, Chenango County, New York, Nov. 7, 1873, aged 74 years. He was born Aug. 8, 1799, in the town in which he died, and on the same farm on which he spent most of his days, a short distance from the village. He was the son of Noah and Asenath (Calkins) Wood, and the second of a family of eight children. His parents removed from Connecticut only the year preceding his birth, and when the region of the State of New York where they settled was covered with a dense forest. He was hopefully converted at *four* years of age, and from that time till his death gave the best of evidence of true piety. His father died when Julius was twelve years of age.

Before he arrived at maturity he went to labor on a farm near Buffalo, but at the request of his mother and sisters he soon returned to his native place and purchased the homestead. His sisters testify that he was as kind and indulgent to them as a father.

June 26, 1824, the Congregational Church of Smyrna was organized, of which he was one of the original members when he was twenty-five years of age, and of which he subsequently became one

of the deacons and most important and substantial members. When thirty-two years old, May 15, 1831, he married Miss Amanda Billings, of Smyrna, youngest daughter of the late Joseph Billings, one of the earliest settlers of the town. They were the parents of ten children, all of whom became professed Christians and church members. Eight are still living, of whom seven were present at the funeral of their father.

DeValson Wood, the eldest, was for fifteen years Professor of Civil Engineering in the University of Michigan, and is now Professor in the Stevens Institute of Technology at Hoboken, New Jersey. Hudson A. Wood, another of the sons, graduated at the University of Michigan, and is principal of an academy at Middletown, Delaware. Four of the daughters married and settled in different parts of the West, and the other surviving children are residents of Smyrna. All have enjoyed the best of educational advantages, and most of the daughters have been teachers.

Deacon Wood was ever an earnest, faithful Christian, and a liberal giver, for one of his means, for the support of religious institutions, and to aid benevolent objects. For him to know his duty was to do it. One of his last gifts was that of \$400 towards the purchase of a parsonage as a home for his minister. He was always at the church prayer-meeting when not providentially hindered. In his prayers in the home circle, he always remembered his children, and his neighbors and their children.

He was liberal in his views of the rights of others. He always advocated woman's privilege of speaking and praying in social meetings. He loved to co-operate with members of other churches in doing good. He established and led a prayer-meeting in the district school-house near his dwelling, which attracted many even from other neighborhoods. He espoused the temperance cause when drinking was common, and when remonstrated with as being inconsistent in selling corn to distillers, he at once said, "I will do so no longer." He adopted the "teetotal" principle, circulated the pledge when it was usual to "treat" at barn-raisings and sheep-washings, and never afterwards offered intoxicating drinks to any one. In a few years every person in the neighborhood, except a few confirmed drunkards, became practical temperance men.

He early adopted antislavery views, and assisted in organizing the Abolition party in his native town. He aided several fugitives from slavery on their way to Canada. When many antislavery men became "come-outers," and established "free churches," he thought it better to keep the leaven in the existing churches, and he soon had the satisfaction of seeing his own church put a resolution upon its records declaring slaveholding a sin.

In business he was perfectly upright. He took an interest in all public improvements, believing it better to use than to hoard money. When reproved for giving to aid a Methodist church, while he owed debts, he replied, "When I am out of debt I may not be here to give." He was always with the party of "doing" when churches, school-houses, canals, railroads, etc., were to be constructed. He was a kind neighbor, and active in ministering to the sick and suffering. He did not seek to restrain his children from leaving home to enter upon the active scenes of life, even at a distance from him, but always charged them "to do their duty."

Before his death he said to his oldest son, "Why should the hope of immortality be given to man if there is no hereafter?" When his wife said, "We shall miss you much," he answered, "The separation will be short." He often prayed that he might "go down to his grave like a shock of corn in his season and ready for the garner," and his petition was granted. He said near the close, "My business is settled, and I am ready for the Master's call."

He was the last survivor of the original members of the church at Smyrna.

J. C. H.

Rev. RICHARD WOODHULL died at Bangor, Me., Nov. 12, 1873, aged seventy-one years.

Mr. Woodhull was born in Fairfield, Conn., Jan. 15, 1802. He was the son of Abraham Cooper and Eunice (Sturgis) Woodhull. Mr. Woodhull's father, who was a sea-captain, lost his life by an accident in Boston Harbor, when Richard was but seventeen months old; but God had given him a mother of strong character, sound common-sense, sincere piety, and of great industry and energy. The first nine years of Richard's life were under the immediate care and instruction of this mother, and she laid the foundation of his Christian character. The evenings were spent in reading to her from choice books, and in such judicious instruction as gave him the love of books and begat in him that industry and frugality which enabled him, at nine years of age, to support himself without expense to his mother. At this period, and for some time after, he was under the pastoral care and instruction of Dr. Humphrey, afterwards President of Amherst College, whose ministry left an impression upon his mind and heart never to be effaced.

When about thirteen years of age he went to reside in the family of Deacon Judson, of Fairfield, where he enjoyed, in a large degree, social refinement, and opportunities for gaining practical knowledge.

At about eighteen years of age he was hopefully converted, and

began at once his life of active usefulness in the cause of Christ. Soon he had a desire to become a minister. Hearing one day that the Education Society of Maine had funds, but no young men studying for the ministry, he made application, was accepted, and went to Saco to finish his preparation for college. It is worthy of mention here that the money paid him by the Education Society through his preparatory and collegiate course was paid back to that society both principal and interest. He entered Bowdoin College in 1823, and graduated in 1827, with high rank in his class. After leaving college, he entered Princeton Theological Seminary; but at the close of the first year, through the advice of Pres. Allen, of Bowdoin, he took the charge of the Classical Department of Bangor Theological Seminary, which place he filled with great acceptance until he entered the ministry.

Aug. 13, 1829, he was married to Miss Sarah Forbes, daughter of William Forbes, Esq., of Bangor, with whom he lived forty-four years. She and five of their ten children are still living.

In 1830 Mr. Woodhull accepted a call to become the pastor of the Congregational Church in Thomaston, Maine, and was ordained July 7, Pres. Allen of Bowdoin College preaching the sermon. He continued in this office for twenty-five years, lacking four months. During these years Mr. Woodhull was emphatically a shepherd, a leader and feeder of the flock. Besides attending to the many duties of the pastorate, he also taught a hundred ship-masters navigation, and interested himself in all the secular affairs of the town, and in all educational interests. How suggestive of study and labor, of sympathy and comfort under affliction, of instruction in all the duties of life, are these twenty-five years! During his ministry there were three considerable revivals, in the years '34, '37, and '42; as a result of which, forty-nine were received to the church on profession.

His successor, Rev. Mr. Mason, says, "The field was hard, having elements in it difficult to harmonize; the salary too scant for either comfort or convenience, to supplement which, Mr. Woodhull taught a select school for years, lectured in town and elsewhere on astronomy, giving also a helping hand to many a private or public secular interest, sometimes for a little pay, oftener for none except what comes of a consciousness of having done a *good thing*. I am clear that this church and society, and this town — all that composed it then — have immense cause to thank God, that, during that quarter of a century, such a man was in the midst of them. There is many an interest, private and public, besides the merely religious, that felt his influence."

At the close of Mr. Woodhull's ministry at Thomaston, he accepted the appointment of agent of the American Bible Society, in which

cause he labored with great industry and fidelity for about seven years. In 1862 he was chosen treasurer and general agent for Bangor Theological Seminary, and this office he held until his death. During his period of office, the funds of the seminary were increased \$133,000, besides some \$30,000 paid for current expenses. The oldest member of the Board of Trustees says, "Much of this success is undoubtedly due to the marked financial ability, sound judgment, untiring zeal, and strict integrity of Mr. Woodhull."

Mr. Woodhull was one of the oldest members of the Board of Overseers of Bowdoin College; a member, and for some years President of the Board of Trustees of the Hospital for the Insane at Augusta, and a Trustee of the Maine Charitable Society.

Next to his integrity, his remarkably sound judgment made his services exceedingly valuable in all the important trusts which he filled. His wisdom in counsel was marked by all; his judgment was wonderfully correct on all committees and boards of trust, and especially in all cases of church difficulties and questions of policy and expediency. His opinion always carried great weight with it; and when his position was once taken, he seldom had occasion or disposition to change it.

He was not brilliant as a preacher. He had a logical mind, and rarely took a position he could not sustain. He was a thorough student in mathematical studies, but his range of literary reading was not extensive; yet his generous sympathies and warmth of heart made him a most useful minister and Christian. The venerable Rev. Silas McKeen, of Bradford, Vt., writes: "Brother Woodhull I found, during my ministry at Belfast, to be a man after my own heart. Situated as we were, I seldom had the privilege of hearing him preach. But at our County Conference, and especially at the protracted meetings of special refreshing, in which we in those days occasionally engaged, I used to love to listen to his earnest appeals to his fellow Christians to be faithful unto death, and to sinners to neglect no longer the great salvation."

His large heart and his warm and generous sympathies made him a model parishioner, though he had for so many years been himself a minister.

In his last long and most painful sickness (cancer in the face) all the beautiful traits of his piety shone forth most brilliantly,—his obedience, his submission, his faith in God, his singular conscientiousness, his love of prayer,—these were never clouded in all the long year of misery, which grew darker and deeper to the end, but made the path of this good and useful man "shine brighter and brighter unto the perfect day."

S. P. F.

LITERARY REVIEW.

THEOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS.

THE so-called "Evangelical Christians" are sometimes charged with arrogance in appropriating to themselves this distinctive epithet; but they who make the charge prove that the party accused has no monopoly of arrogance by assuming, themselves, the title of "Liberal Christians." A prominent representative of these modest "liberals" has recently issued a volume in defence of his theological tenets with the presumptuous title of "Common-Sense in Religion."¹ In his brief preface the author thus defines the term which he uses in his title:—

"By common-sense we mean the mode of judgment derived from experience of this world; that is, of God's methods in nature and in human life. A man of common-sense is a man whose intellect is trained by observation of human nature and the course of events."

The writer could hardly expect his readers to be satisfied with so general and vague a definition, hence, in his first essay, he enters upon a full exposition or analysis, and here he becomes confused.

Dr. Hickok, in his work entitled *Creator and Creation*, under the head "Empiricism in the Philosophy of Common-Sense," says, "The philosophy of common-sense restricts all human knowledge to the elements given in conscious experience. . . . Some sense may be so conditioned at times as to delude, but this would be corrected by other senses; and some persons may be deceived in their experiences, but the normal experience of the many will prevailingly control; and the collected, unbiassed decision of common experience must be the ultimate criterion of truth." p. 39. This idea seems to be held by the author of "Common-Sense in Religion," when he says, "We do not claim infallibility for the judgments of common-sense, more than for theology in any other form. But they have this advantage, at least, that they embody the general judgment of mankind; they tell us, not what any individual thinks, but what the human race thinks." p. 13.

Mindful, however, that Unitarianism cannot claim, in its support, "the general judgment of mankind," he commences the process of limitation: "Nor by common-sense do I mean the uneducated or miseducated heathen judgment, but the educated Christian judgment." p. 10. Here he not only restricts common-sense to Christian communities, but makes it a personal attribute. In the same sense he uses it when he says, "Some men seem incarnations of the common-sense of the human race." p. 11.

But anon it ceases to be a personal attribute, and becomes a body of truth. Thus he says, "When I speak of common-sense in theology, I mean that part of Christian truth which has been taken up into the average mind of Christendom." p. 11.

Aware that Unitarianism cannot abide this test, that it has not been

¹Common-Sense in Religion: A Series of Essays. By James Freeman Clarke.

"taken up into the average mind of Christendom," he starts the inquiry as to "the full verdict of the common-sense of all men, on any subject, ... how are we to get it?" His first suggestion is, "to wait until the world has made up its mind." But lest his readers should not have patience to *wait*, or should conclude from present showing that Unitarianism has no flattering prospect as to universal acceptance, he suggests the test of democracy, putting everything to vote, and accepting "the judgment of the majority." p. 15.

But seeing that this also is fatal to the claim of Unitarianism, he maintains that "before the vote of the majority becomes the expression of public opinion, and so of common-sense, it has to be enlightened." p. 15.

He therefore suggests a third method: it is, "to get at the judgment of common-sense," by obtaining "the views of those men in whom it is most fully embodied." p. 15. He elsewhere says, "Every private judgment is partial, more or less one-sided; but put together the common opinions of educated men, and these partial views neutralize each other,—the plus and minus quantities cancel each other, and the result and opinion is the *common-sense of all*."

What does all this amount to? Very quietly assuming that the small party known as Unitarians are, in the highest sense, "*educated men*," and that they are the men in whom common-sense "is most fully embodied," the easiest way to arrive at the common judgment of mankind, when the world shall have made up its mind, is to accept at once the views of those *savans* as the teachings of common-sense!

What an amiable *colerie* these mutually admiring Unitarians are! Wonderful followers of the meek and lowly One!

After this philosophical view of common-sense, this lucid and consistent exposition, the easy task only remains of giving the hackneyed arguments for "liberal Christianity."

The book is made up, nominally, of twenty essays. We suspect that these essays are, in fact, twenty sermons, with the texts left off. Although the phrase "common-sense" is incorporated into the titles of six of the essays, yet there is very little allusion to common-sense, except in the introductory portion of the first essay, and in an occasional subsequent interpolation. We suspect that the sermons came first, and that the common-sense came in as an after-thought, in connection with the book and the idea of a *sale*.

The style of the writer is pleasant and entertaining. Sometimes he writes with discrimination, and then he utterly fails. We cannot but wonder that a man who knows so much does not know more. His first essay is on Mystery. He seems an optimist of the highest rank when he says, respecting the mystery of sin, "It is through our sins that we find our way to come most closely to God. . . . It creates a more profound humility and a more entire trust than anything else can do." pp. 21, 22. "Evil exists, but it exists for the sake of good, and is to end in good." p. 122.

He says, "The error of theologians is to suppose that we ever can or ought to believe the mysterious part of anything in nature or revelation."

Because the word "person," as applied to the Trinity, is not used in the

sense of being, he represents those who hold to the Trinity as acknowledging that they cannot tell in what sense the word "person" is used,—that "it is a mystery,"—which of course is a caricature. He represents his antagonist as rejoining, "But you believe many things you do not understand. You believe that the grass grows, and you do not understand how it grows."

To this he replies, "True; and therefore I do not believe anything about the 'how.' I understand the proposition 'The grass grows,' and I believe it. I do not understand *how* it grows, and I do not believe anything about it. Where the mystery begins the belief ends." pp. 24, 25.

Whatsoever the nature of the distinction between the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, it cannot have escaped the attention of Mr. Clarke that the Scriptures apply to these the personal pronouns. Jesus says, "*I* will pray the Father, and *he* shall give you another Comforter, that *he* may abide with you forever." When we use the word "Trinity," and the word "person" in connection with the Trinity, we mean that the Scriptures represent the Godhead as in such a sense triune that there is an appropriateness in applying the personal pronouns distinctively to each,—the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

As to the "how" of the Trinity, we do not profess any knowledge. We put it to Mr. Clarke: If it is consistent with common-sense to believe in the fact that the grass grows, without knowing anything about the *how*, why is it not just as consistent with common-sense to believe in the *fact* of the Trinity, which the Scriptures reveal, although we know nothing about the *how*?

Dr. Edward H. Clarke, in his work on *Sex in Education*, himself a Unitarian, says: "The sacred number, three, dominates the human frame. There is a trinity in our anatomy. Three systems, to which all the organs are directly or indirectly subsidiary, divide and control the body. First, there is the nutritive system. Secondly, there is the nervous system. Thirdly, there is the reproductive system." What has Dr. James Freeman Clarke's Common-Sense to say about this scientific trinity?

When we believe that which involves a mystery, we may, in some proper sense, be said to believe the mystery. Mr. Clarke confuses his own mind by using the words "understand" and "believe" as synonymous.

In this book the author displays his contempt of creeds and of theological science. He adopts the distinction of the Pythagorean and Platonic philosophy, and represents the animal creation as having souls, and man as having also a spirit; but when he comes to define a spirit he is altogether mystical, calling it a "divine consciousness," and representing it as "receptive of God's life." pp. 41, 42.

He maintains that man has "body," "soul," and "spirit." Here is a human trinity: how does Mr. Clarke's common-sense get along with this,—especially with his mystical explanation of the third element in this trinity?

In pointing out the difference between the highest animals and man, it is remarkable that, by this writer, there is no recognition of the conscience,

but great prominence is given to "the power to make and use tools." It is still more remarkable that in a portrayal of Unitarianism as the Gospel, the *good-news* (pp. 109-122), there is no mention of Jesus, except in the most incidental way. He represents "Orthodoxy" as making this life "merely a scene of probation," and Unitarianism as making it "not probation, but education." p. 122.

He represents the agony of Jesus in the garden as the result of disappointment "that his cause should not triumph, and that his nation should not accept him as their Messiah." pp. 322, 323.

Representing sin as a disease, he says, "I am one of those who believe that, in the great order of the universe, all disorders shall at last be swallowed up, and every knee bow to God in submission and love." p. 52. There is abundant vindication in this volume of the exquisitely discriminating remark, that "the difference between Universalists and Unitarians is, that the former believe that God is too good to punish man forever, and the latter believe that man is too good to be punished forever."

It is no marvel that the preaching of a sect which has such superficial views of sin as this volume presents, which discards the idea of our need of a Redeemer, has but little moral power, and that the sect itself has no missionary zeal.

MINISTERS and candidates for the Ministry are favored with another book on *Pastoral Theology*,¹ from the pen of Dr. Plummer. Without distinguishing between homiletical and pastoral Theology, the author uses the latter term to cover the entire work of the Ministry. His treatment of subjects is desultory. He has no system to present. His style is terse, almost to affectation. It is not elaborate, like that of Prof. Phelps; not brilliant and charming, like Prof. Park's; not mellow, like that of Dr. Alexander; not witty, like Dr. Joseph Parker's; not massive and strong, like that of Prof. Shedd; nor lithe and juicy, like Beecher's: but it is clear and crispy.

The distinguishing excellence of the book is, that it presents and enforces the salvation of souls as the aim of the Ministry, and grace in the heart as the source of power. It abounds in apt quotations. The chapter on Revivals shows the author's conservative views. Men must wait for God.

The book contains a chapter of scraps concerning church building, taking of collections, writing of letters, congregational singing, the exclusion of politics from the pulpit, and the wisdom of employing a good tailor.

Another chapter concerns Proverbs, the apt use of which is commended. There are two excellent chapters on Missionary Service in its claims on young men.

The volume, without being a great work, is very readable, and is profitable on account of its spiritual character. Its abundant and admirable quotations are worth the cost of the entire book.

¹ Hints and Helps in Pastoral Theology. By William S. Plummer, D. D., LL.D

COMMENTARIES on the Bible still claim a large share of public attention. We fear that they are not read by the multitude, even those of them which are most popular in their style. Yet the most scholarly, read and studied by the few, exert a moulding influence upon the public mind, by giving direction to those who are in a position to wield a wide influence.

Prominent among these commentaries is what is known as the "Speaker's Commentary."¹ It is scholarly, without being pedantic, giving the results rather than the processes of study, and commanding itself to favor by the common-sense and the evangelical spirit of those who are engaged in its preparation.

WE have received also the sixteenth volume of Lange's Commentary.² We have noticed each of the volumes in the series as it has been issued. This volume closes the commentary on the Old Testament. We need not here repeat the favorable opinion already so many times expressed in regard to this great work. The results of an incalculable amount of study are furnished for the ready use of those whose professional duties preclude the possibility of prolonged and thorough research. If the amount of material seems sometimes superabundant, and the mode of expression in this translation by Dr. Schaff retains sometimes, idiomatically, too much of the characteristics of the German original, yet every biblical scholar will find the work invaluable.

RYLE'S Expository Thoughts on the Gospel of John³ is something more than its title suggests. These volumes give the text of the Gospel complete. The author ordinarily takes a few verses as a paragraph, and gives, in large type, "expository thoughts" on them. These thoughts are explanatory, practical, and devotional, peculiarly adapted "for family and private use."

These "thoughts" are followed with "notes," in smaller type, elucidating each verse, and sometimes each clause in a verse. These "notes" are very extensive, and in some instances quite elaborate. They give very largely the views of different commentators and scholars, and are thus a thesaurus of learning of which many a pastor will gladly avail himself. We commend the work most heartily to pastors and to Sabbath-school teachers.

MESSRS. HARPERS have sent us their revised edition of Barnes' Notes

¹ The Holy Bible, according to the authorized version (A. D. 1611), with an explanation and critical commentary and a revision of the translation, by Bishops and other Clergy of the Anglican Church. Vols. III and IV. Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, The Song of Solomon.

² Commentary on the Holy Scriptures, Critical, Doctrinal, and Homiletical, with special reference to Ministers and Students. By John Peter Lange, D. D. Vol. XVI of the Old Testament, containing the Minor Prophets.

³ Expository Thoughts on the Gospels. By the Rev. J. C. Ryle, B. A., Christ Church, Oxford, Vicar of Stradbroke, Suffolk. St. John. 3 vols.

on Hebrews.¹ The great popularity of the series of "Notes" furnished by the late Mr. Barnes is itself a sufficient commendation of them. There are but few Sabbath-school teachers in our land who are not familiar with his Notes on the Gospels. It were well if the whole eleven volumes on the New Testament were in the hands of every teacher, and in every family. Every call for a new edition is fresh occasion for thankfulness.

THE title of a recent work by Prof. Green, of Princeton, *The Argument of the Book of Job Unfolded*,² may suggest that it is a Commentary on that interesting portion of Scripture, but it is not so. It consists of ten chapters, originally sermons we suspect, designed to set forth the general drift of the Book of Job, "to exhibit its plan and structure, and trace the course of thought from first to last by showing the part taken by each of the actors, the purport of their several speeches, and the bearing of each portion of the book upon the common theme of the whole."

There is nothing especially new in this volume, unless it be a partial vindication of Job's wife; and the style is fair. A concluding essay on "the place of the Book of Job in the scheme of Holy Scripture," is well conceived. Two special cases require notice, viz. Prosperity without piety discussed in Ecclesiastes; and piety without prosperity discussed in Job. The book is good for a Sunday-school library.

THE title of Dr. Ray Palmer's recent work³ clearly indicates the object of the book, which is made up of fourteen addresses given to young people when the author was a pastor. "He sought to help them to understand themselves and their true position, and to awaken in them right purposes and aspirations." He now offers the addresses to those young persons "who are often moved to serious thoughtfulness in relation to what lies before them," "in the hope of stimulating in them a generous enthusiasm, and assisting them to avoid the shame and misery of failure, and to achieve an honorable success on the great arena of life." The aim is high, and the spirit of the work is in keeping with it. The series of addresses begins with "Characteristics of Youth," and "Causes of Failure in Life," and closes with "True Greatness according to Christ," "Christian Character an Aid to Success," and "The Desire of true Glory a Christian Affection." The discourses seem to us to apprehend the subjects and the hearers. They are full of wisdom and good sense. The advice is simple and practical. The book will commend itself to those for whom it is published, and cannot fail to help them, inasmuch as it is the gift of a man to those with whom he has deep sympathy, and whose circumstances and thoughts and needs he

¹ Notes, Explanatory and Practical, on the Epistle to the Hebrews. By Albert Barnes.

² The Argument of the Book of Job Unfolded. By William Henry Green, D. D., Professor in Princeton Theological Seminary. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1874. 12mo. pp. 693. \$2.00.

³ Earnest Words and True Success in Life, addressed to young men and women. by Ray Palmer. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co. 12mo. pp. 295. \$1.25.

knows. Every reader must feel that the writer is his friend. Such discourses as these need to come in the midst of a continuous ministry, wherein the deeper and higher themes of the New Testament shall be forcibly presented. These addresses have such support. But we feel, also, that there might have been a plainer recognition of the great facts which must be taken into account in the making up of a successful life,—we mean the facts of sin and redemption, of the grace of God in Jesus Christ, and the transforming and perfecting of character by the Holy Spirit. These truths are not ignored; indeed, there are allusions to them, which grow plainer at the close: we think they could have a more prominent place. The book would be more thorough if there was a clear line of thought ending in the author's own hymn,—

"My faith looks up to Thee,
Thou Lamb of Calvary,
Saviour Divine."

The book is appropriately dedicated to the senior publisher, Mr. Barnes. The form of the dedication is the least happy thing in the work.

*A Faithful Ministry*¹ is the title of a volume of sermons, by the late John Milton Holmes, of Jersey City. The Introduction by the Editor is the beautiful tribute of a loving friend to a man of genius, wit, poetic taste, and large soul. The volume gives ten sermons and a Pastoral Letter by the lamented author; and, in an Appendix, two commemorative discourses, one by Rev. G. Buckingham Willcox, and the other by the Editor. Prized as this memorial volume must be by the parishioners and personal friends of the gifted man, it has also a general interest as affording "a model of effectiveness," and as an exhibition of the characteristics which made Mr. Holmes "beloved, honored, and lamented" beyond most men whose stay on earth is so brief and so prematurely ended.

The Christian Trumpet,² published by Patrick Donahoe. A Catholic work, exceedingly well written, so far as respects the compiler's labors.

The editor remarks that it is the first volume of its class in the English language. It contains the text and interpretation of between twenty and thirty modern prophecies of sainted Catholics. These are classified as "Warning Prophecies," "The Triumph of the Catholic Church," "The Last Judgment."

To commend these prophecies to our faith, the saying of Paul is quoted, "Extinguish not the Spirit, despise not prophecies"; and a saying also of Machiavelli to this effect, that "before any extraordinary event takes place, in any city or province, it is previously announced by mysterious signs, or by human prophetic predictions."

¹ *A Faithful Ministry.* Edited by George B. Bacon.

² *The Christian Trumpet; or Previsions and Predictions about Impending Calamities. The Universal Triumph of the Church. The Coming of Antichrist. The Last Judgment and the End of the World.* Compiled by Pellegrino. 12mo. pp. 272. \$1.50.

The evidence for the genuineness of the prophecies is of the order familiar to readers of the "Acta Sanctorum," or Butler's "Lives of the Saints." In one instance Benedictine fathers find a prophecy enclosed, in a leaden case, in a tomb at Naples. In another, a roll is taken from the hand of a coffined monk whose body had for four centuries survived decay.

The following are examples of the predictions : —

The Germans are to invade France a second time.

Paris is to be burnt.

The Communists are to ravage France.

A universal war in Italy is to be followed by the overthrow of Prussia.

Prussia is to become Catholic. England is to become Catholic. By the year 1893 all the world is to profess the true Catholic faith !

A Capetian prince, a descendant of Pepin, one of the Carlovingian line, the Count Chambord, in fact, is to rule France as Henry V. (This prophecy was made last year.)

An Italian monk, overtaken with a strong distraction (*sic*), predicts the destruction of the world within less than a hundred years, or within 6,000 years from the creation.

In the closing part of this entertaining volume we learn that two famous youths are now living in France, — the one, the destined conqueror of Anti-christ; the other, Anti-christ himself. The latter was discovered thus: A lady of a remarkable mission from God saw in a certain city, at a certain hotel, a woman, and a boy of about twelve years of age. When the boy saw her he screamed as if taken with a colic. His mother told the lady that the reason of his strange behavior was that he was Anti-christ! These are specimen bricks !

HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL.

*Points of History*¹ is an English work "reprinted from the London edition by Patrick Donahoe, of Boston." The design evidently is to remove the barnacles on the papal ship that it may sail more smoothly in American waters. The author looks at matters from a papal standpoint in a church that claims infallibility for itself, and also for its Pope, who in his turn assumes the prerogative of Christ himself, in virtue of which he claims jurisdiction over both church and state. In the exercise of this power in papal countries, the Pope makes the state subordinate to the church of which he is the supreme head and ruler. The church uses every government under its control as an instrument in its hand to deal with "heretics" as IT may see fit to direct. The author of this book finds it very convenient to pack the sins of this "infallible church" upon the state, as, for example, the Spanish Inquisition. He virtually admits the charges made by Protestants against the Papal Church, including all the

¹ Points of History. The Inquisition. The Albigenses and the Waldenses. The Massacre of St. Bartholomew. The Fifth of November; or the Gunpowder Plot. Galileo and the Inquisition. Religious Toleration, a Question of First Principles. 32mo. pp. 360. 60 cents.

horrors of the Spanish Inquisition, but throws the blame upon the state. In the matter of torture to obtain confession of guilt of the horrible crime of non-belief in the doctrines of the Papal Church, the author says (page 22): "We do not deny the charge: the Inquisition *did* use the torture as one of the means by which to ascertain the truth." He then goes on to justify this hellish practice by saying that every other court, both lay and ecclesiastical, did the same thing, and also claims for the church immunity from crime because of its *moderation* in performing an act so essential to its preservation. The author forgets that it is the act itself Protestants complain of, and not the *manner* of its performance. What cares the victim for the manner or "*moderation*" with which a red hot iron is thrust through his tongue? No matter whether it be done in the name of the cross or the crown, it is a crime committed in the interests of the church, for opinion's sake. Pope Paul III, of Portugal, as quoted by this author, says, "The Inquisition gradually passed from a spiritual court to a tribunal taking cognizance of secular matters; from being a religious it became mainly a political instrument." But this does not relieve the Papal Church of the odium attached to it, or shake off the responsibility for its atrocious crimes. Every principal is responsible for the acts of his agent, and it is no bar to judgment to plead that his agent did it. Indeed, the author yields the point in the next paragraph on the same page (31), when he says, "It is not to be denied that the Inquisition did deliver heretics to the arms of the secular power, knowing that they would be put to death; and that they sanctioned the visitation of heresy and other spiritual offences by temporal punishments of various kinds." "Heresy," be it remembered, was a *spiritual* offence, — a crime against the church, and was punished as such with death, either by the church, its Inquisition, or the state in its subordinate capacity. Before leaving this subject we will notice another specimen of papal dogmatism. The Spanish Inquisition was established in 1480. We are informed by some author that 2,000 persons were *burned* to death the next year: the author of this book informs us that it took fifteen years instead of one to burn them, and then goes on to justify the horrible crime by referring to other countries that punished treason and various crimes with death. The argument is this: — Some countries hang men for treason, therefore this "*infallible church*" is justified in *burning* people because they can not or will not believe its creed and submit to its authority. Such logic may pass current in priest-ridden communities, but the common-school boys in this republic will easily detect its fallacy. It is of no sort of consequence whether the 2,000 persons were *all* guilty of heresy or some of them guilty of some other *spiritual* crime: our author admits the burning of that number of persons, and then claims immunity from the crime because other countries take life for *treason* against the state. In the Papal Church treason is the most heinous sin a person can commit. But what constitutes treason according to the papacy? We shall learn something about it in the following chapters.

Before proceeding further in the examination of this volume it may be well

to define terms as understood in the Papal Church and as used by this author. By *heretics* we understand them to mean all persons outside of the pale of that church, including professors of all other religions and sinners of every description. The term *Protestant* is only another name for *heretic*, and by its ingenious use the *masses* of the Papal Church in the old countries are left to infer that every incarnate devil is a member of the Protestant Church, and an enemy to the Pope. Every Protestant Church member is not necessarily an incarnate devil; but for opposing the Papal Church and the Pope, or *believing* in any other creed that does not include infallibility, transubstantiation and all the other dogmas of the Papal Church, it was considered doing God service to burn men alive. To make the Protestant Church responsible for the crimes of wicked men who were brought up under the influence of the papacy and a government subject to its authority—men who never saw a Protestant Church—is a fraud. For example, the Manicheans, who are described in this book as an organized body, with “Pope, bishops, priests, and deacons,” and whose creed was a “monstrous system of errors,” were in no sense Evangelical Christians. To make Protestantism responsible for their barbarities is much wider of the truth than to call them scions of the Papal Church. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the crusades against the Albigenses were, according to this author, undertaken and carried forward in the interests of the Papal Church; and whether they were burned alive, or “hung, drawn, and quartered” by the secular power, the Roman hierarchy was directly responsible. The Pope himself would occasionally make a feeble protest, which meant nothing, when the petty princes were excessive in their cruelty, in consequence of which great credit is claimed for him. But who doubts that Innocent III, or any other Pope, could have stopped the butcheries in a week, if he had wished to do so?

The same writer, in defending the Pope from the charge of converting heretics by means of the fire and the sword, says of him (p. 83), “As head of the church, it was his duty to watch over and zealously maintain the unity of the faith. By the constitution of the several States of Europe at the time of which we are speaking, he exercised authority over all kings and princes, even within the limits of their own dominions, in all matters pertaining to religion.” Of course, when the Pope or any of his subordinates in the church, discovered a *heretic* and brought him to any of these kings or princes, the latter knew what they had got to do with the victim or be themselves victimized. We are further informed “that they were pledged by oath, on first taking possession of their respective sovereignties,” to implicit obedience to the Pope. Another admission, fatal to the theory of casting the enormous guilt of burning heretics upon the petty kings and princes, is in these words, “After all, the great fact remains which is really the essence of the whole matter, viz. that force was used by express order of the Pope for putting down heresy.” But all these Popes claimed to be “defending Christianity,” which means the Papal Church, while they were “attacking heresy.”

The chapter on the Albigenses closes with a reference to the Waldenses.

The latter are admitted to be an improvement on the former, inasmuch as they took the Bible for their guide. But as they chose to preach the doctrines of the Bible as they understood them, without leave or license from the Pope, they were branded as heretics and indiscriminately slaughtered with the Albigenses.

"The massacre of the Huguenots, or French Protestants, on St. Bartholomew's Day, in the year of our Lord 1572," is the third "point of history" contained in this extraordinary work, the reproduction of which in this country is manifestly designed to pave the way for the Romish hierarchy.

When the Reformation broke out in Germany, "France was heartily and resolutely Catholic" with "Francis I upon the throne." "The great mass of the people were Catholic, a portion only of the nobles inclined to the new heresy." Society was corrupt to the core, in high places and low; "there was much wickedness in high places," and not salt enough in the Papal Church to preserve the mass from corruption. When Francis and his ministers were excessively severe and cruel in burning heretics, we are told that "they were bad Catholics," as if this would cleanse the blood-stained garments of an "infallible Pope," clothed with supreme authority over kings and princes. But the crimes of the Papal Church in putting Protestants to torture and death for non-conformity to her dogmas are justified or apologized for, because Protestants put Papists to death for murder and arson. We doubt whether this kind of logic will take deep root in this country, where murder is a capital crime, but where religious insanity is not. Our churches do not believe it to be "practising the duties of their sacred calling" to burn alive those who will not believe their creed.

Our historian has a long argument to show that the bloody and indiscriminate massacre of more than 15,000 Huguenots on the 24th of August, 1572, which deluged the city of Paris with blood, was not a premeditated act, originating from the Vatican, but was instigated by Catherine and executed by her son, Charles II, without the knowledge or consent of Pope Gregory XIII, who had just been elected to the pontificate.

Now, it is of no sort of consequence whether the act was premeditated or not; it is admitted and even condemned, but on the ground that it was not specifically ordered by the Pope. Suppose the order for this wholesale massacre did not come in due form from the Court of Rome, but was executed by subordinates at Paris: it was only the carrying out of the programme of the Papal Church, and by her universally approved, as all history attests. It was a meritorious act to burn or butcher a heretic, and why should not Charles II, a profligate youth of ten years, and his more profligate mother, be applauded for disposing of fifteen thousand of them in a single night?

We have seen the legitimate fruits of the "infallible" Church of Rome, as developed in the Inquisition in Spain, in the crusades against the Albigenses and Waldenses in France, together with the indiscriminate slaughter of the Huguenots in the same country, and now let us follow the

same element into England and see what may be expected of its lamb-like qualities in a Protestant country. The "Gunpowder Plot," as it is called, of Nov. 5, 1605, for simple diabolism was never excelled in the world's history. It was a combination of thirteen Papists, consisting of priests and laymen, who formed a conspiracy to blow into eternity "with gunpowder, the King, Lords, and Commons in Parliament assembled, because they could not bear to be subject to a Protestant government." Parliament had enacted sundry laws obnoxious to Papists and disgraceful to the Established Church as well. There was then, as now, but a step between English Episcopacy and Roman Papacy, and in the contest between them the Puritan element came in for its full share (for it was hated alike by them both), and laws were enacted that bore as hard upon the Puritans as upon the Papists. The Puritans were oppressed and maltreated for non-conformity to the Episcopal creed in Protestant England, as the same element had been in France for non-conformity to the Papal creed. The Established Church of England was paying the Papacy in their own coin, and we shall see whether Puritans or Papists followed the apostolic pattern.

The Puritans sought to reform the wrong-doers, the Papists to destroy them; the Puritans sought toleration under the legal government of England, the Papists sought to destroy the government and take possession in the name of the Pope. Guy Fawkes and his twelve fellow-conspirators were a sort of counterpart to the Pope and his twelve at Rome; but which *most* nearly resembled Christ and his twelve apostles at Jerusalem, we will not undertake to decide. The Gunpowder Plot failed only because it was discovered in season to save the lives of King James and his Parliament. As a natural consequence, it exasperated the English people to the highest pitch, and the subsequent laws that were enacted by Parliament were more stringent than ever. The discovery of the plot alarmed the Papists who were not implicated in the conspiracy to such a degree that the bishops were obliged to use their influence against any more such acts. The Puritans, however, took a very different course. After many years of patient labor to recover and maintain their rights without success, and with no prospect of any, like their prototypes the Apostles, they shook off the dust from their feet and came to this country, leaving Episcopacy and Papacy to fight on. The work of our Pilgrim and Puritan fathers in establishing in this country a republican form of government, and giving prominence to Evangelical religion, and toleration to all religions as well, is known and read of all Americans. If it be true that "the tree is known by its fruits," we certainly have a right to judge of *every* tree by its own fruits. Here we have three of them, Evangelical, Episcopal, and Papal, all transplanted into American soil.

Of what sort of fruit grows on the Papal tree we have had abundant evidence in "Catholic" Spain and France, where the Papal Church had supreme control and ruled with the rod of iron. These "points of history," written in the interests of the Papal Church, demonstrate her to be one of *force* and not one of "peace on earth, good will to men." Her

crimes are justified on the score of necessity for her preservation ; and who cannot see that, should the same necessity arise in this country and the same power obtain here in the Papal Church, the same fruits will be the products of that tree ? In like manner the fruit of the Episcopal tree has been developed in England under the Established Church, where the tables were turned upon the Papists. The evangelical element of that period had nothing to do with the persecution of Papists under Queen "Bess" or Queen Elizabeth, and there is no justice in classing them with the Episcopal power that reigned through the Parliament of that time. High Church Episcopacy is only a modification of Papacy, and the contest was mainly between those two elements. In England the High Church element is going over to Rome by scores and hundreds, and all over Catholic countries the Papal Church is being divided on the question of infallibility.

The last subject treated in the book we are considering, to wit, " Religious toleration a question of first principles," is of special interest. The Puritan or Evangelical element, driven out of England, hated alike by Papists and Episcopalians, quietly took possession of a portion of this continent. They were followed by their old enemies ; the Papists in their present circumstances in this country plead, as in the volume before us, for toleration ; but the great battle with the Papal power is yet to be fought in this republic.

The Papal Church have not only commenced their work in this country, but are far advanced in its prosecution. Many in the Protestant Church behold the progress of their enemies with stoical indifference, and cry peace when there is no peace. A minority of Papists demand that King James's version of the Bible shall be excluded from our common schools ; some Protestants are disposed to yield, while others make a feeble protest ; yet all should know that the Papists are clearing the way for the Catholic Bible and Catechism, as was openly and boldly avowed at the recent Papal Convention in St. Louis.

In many of our principal cities the Papists now have the majority politically, or hold the balance of power between the two great political parties of the day. In New York city, the financial centre of the nation, they hold nearly all the offices, and control the State through the city. In the nation they aim to gain the balance of power. They may soon take the place of the late Slave Power as a disturbing and controlling element in the body-politic of the country. Shall the Papacy be allowed to grasp the ribbons and drive the political team, for the purpose of *enforcing* the dogmas of the Papal Church upon a Protestant community ?

THE volume on the Slave Power,¹ by our honored vice-president, embraces the history of the slave power in this nation from its introduction in 1620 to its victory over freedom in 1845, when Texas was admitted as a slave State, whereby slavery was strengthened.

¹ History of the Rise and Progress of the Slave Power in America. By Henry Wilson. Vol. I.

As a history, it is more comprehensive and nearer perfect than anything we have seen on this world-renowned subject. The decade in the middle of which this volume closes is the most important in the whole anti-slavery history, unless we except the one in which slavery was finally abolished. The decade from 1840 to 1850 derives its importance from the fact that in it the war against the Union and the Constitution was inaugurated by the non-resistant or no-government party; and that from 1860 to 1870—the war against the same Union and the same Constitution—was inaugurated by the slave power. The former fought with paper bullets, the latter with leaden. They both had the same object in view, to wit, the overthrow of the national government, but for different purposes,—the one to abolish slavery, the other to perpetuate it. But there was another element in this triangular contest, whose weapon was the ballot, whose objects were the reformation and preservation of the government, and the overthrow of the slave power. This element embraced the evangelical sentiment, or so much of it as had vitality enough to oppose slavery, and was hated alike by non-resistants and slaveholders. It proposed the only peaceable method of ridding the country of slavery, and would have done its work in time if God had not seen fit to make the slave power mad in order to destroy it sooner than the ballot would do it.

The Northern disunion element hated orthodoxy in the churches as much as slavery in the States, and took advantage of the fact that some churches were by position pro-slavery to advocate the annihilation of *the church as an institution*, and not the reformation of a certain portion of it as pro-slavery. So of the ministry and the Sabbath. All these institutions (according to these disunionists), like the United States Government, were obstacles in the way of emancipation, and must be removed before slavery could be reached. It was on this rock that the division took place in the antislavery ranks in 1839 and 1840. The religious antislavery men believed in *reforming* the church, the ministry, and the government, instead of *destroying* them. History should make this distinction clear to coming generations, in order to do justice to the religious world; for it was the religious antislavery men which directly toned up politics to grapple with so deadly a foe as the slave power of this country.

We will not, however, further anticipate the contents of the next volume, in which we have no doubt the religious element will receive the credit which belongs to it, notwithstanding the shortcomings of many good men.

In the volume before us, the disunion parties, both North and South, are treated with great candor and fairness. Their measures thus far are delineated with truthful fidelity; and if in the next volume a proper discrimination is made between antislavery and pro-slavery ecclesiastical action, no one will have reason to complain.

It should be remembered that the task of gathering and arranging materials for such a work is herculean, and the author deserves much credit and the thanks of the world for his indefatigable labors, in photographing the most gigantic system of robbery and corruption that ever scourged the human race.

If the two volumes to come make as true a record as the first one, every library should contain the series.

IN reading *The History of Greece* by Dr. Curtius,¹ it is natural to compare the work with that of Mr. Grote, and one is surprised to find that this version of a German book is more spirited and readable than the pages of that English original are. There is no lack of research in Dr. Curtius's book, but there is no parade of it. Having a complete mastery of his materials, he is able to trust to his lucid and harmonious development of the subject for the vindication of his accuracy, and of the justness of his points of view. Using this method of writing, he has been able to produce a work which is almost as readable as the so-called history of Goldsmith, while it exhibits the best results of critical investigation, and is an eminently philosophical history.

He starts with the apparently fanciful, but in reality vigorously scientific generalization of Physical Geography, that the territory of ancient Greece consisted of the Ægean Sea; and he succeeds in holding the interest of his reader to both its coasts. Not a little of the sunshine that came over the sea to Attica in the morning, and to Ionia with the evening, appears to have found its way into these pages. It may be said that the strength of the work lies in its preserving a thoroughly human point of view for the history of ancient Greece, while it avoids the false modern point of view. Some histories of Greece seem to have been written with the design of interpreting the old world through the thoughts and institutions of the modern: this one comes well up to the aim of exhibiting ancient history as a development of that common human life on which both ancient and modern history rest.

Without trying, for example, to make out that Pericles was an English Whig or Tory, or a German Liberal or Conservative, the author succeeds in showing us how to have a better understanding of modern statesmen from his account of this eminent Greek. It may be questioned whether the author's mastery of the Greek Philosophy is equal to his knowledge of the other parts of his subject. One has only to turn to the opening pages of Ueberweg's History of Philosophy, to see that there are more luminous and comprehensive views of the Greek speculations than those which are opened here. But the observations which are made here upon the general literature of Greece are exceedingly acute and valuable. The analysis of the power and the charms of Attic prose (in the end of Vol. II) would be worthy of being printed as a tract, if there were a society for promoting classical studies.

We think that whoever reads the work, and goes with the author to the end of the Periclean age, will wait with interest to see how the times of Demosthenes are to be treated.

The History of Greece, by Prof. Dr. Ernst Curtius. Translated by Adolphus William Ward, M. A. New York: Charles Scribner & Company. Three volumes. 8vo. pp. 509, 675, 598. \$2.50 a volume.

DR. GUTHRIE has been regarded by common consent as one of the most notable men of his time. He was not one of the great thinkers, nor one of the distinguished scholars, nor one whose function it was to enlarge the boundaries of knowledge; but he was a man of vigorous *physique*, of quick, clear, sagacious intellect, of ardent emotions and resolute will. These are the qualities that make the eminently practical man, and such he was felt to be by all who knew him. Both as a man of action and as a Christian preacher, he achieved a reputation that is likely to endure.¹

The Autobiography, which fills the larger part of the volume before us, is singularly characteristic. It is a free, artless, colloquial recital by an old man of sanguine temperament and genial disposition, of the leading incidents of his life. It has all the raciness and the charm of a personal narrative, made without any fear of being thought egotistic, or being in any way misunderstood. Dr. Guthrie came forward at a critical period in the history of the Presbyterian Church,—the established church of Scotland. Able men, with Dr. Chalmers at their head, impressed with the great amount of degradation and misery which they saw in the cities, were just then planning to extend and strengthen the establishment by means of the Parish territorial system. The motive of this movement was excellent; but dissenters, as voluntaries, inasmuch as their rights, as they thought, were invaded by it, earnestly opposed the scheme. At the same time the question of patronage was also beginning to be earnestly discussed within the establishment itself; and ultimately the anti-patronage party and the voluntaries, though not wholly coinciding in their views, were alike hostile to the establishment as dominated by the state. Then came the memorable disruption,—one of the grandest instances of obedience to Christian conviction, at the greatest of sacrifices, that adorns the history of Christianity.

It was at the opening of this great struggle that Dr. Guthrie entered on the work of the ministry. It was in no small measure by means of the contest growing out of it that he was drawn out and made the man he ultimately became. At Abirlot, where he was first a pastor, he exhibited many of the same personal qualities by which he was afterwards distinguished; but as a preacher he only began there to manifest the striking characteristics that marked his later years. Plain and almost dry at first, he by deliberate purpose and effort became the prince of illustrative preachers, combining strong thought, effective truth and argument, with the most graphic and highly rhetorical delineation.

The free talk of such a man about the part he bore in the great contests of his time, and the way in which he trained himself to be one of the most attractive of living preachers, cannot but be full of interest. Indeed, whoever takes up the book will find it hard to lay it down till it is finished. We wish that many a theological student and young pastor might study it

¹ Autobiography of Thomas Guthrie; and Memoir, by his sons Rev. David K. Guthrie and Charles J. Guthrie.

to learn what can be accomplished, in patient and thorough pastoral visitation and among the least hopeful classes, by personal contact, and how much may be achieved by self-discipline and culture to attain true pulpit power.

We have received only the first volume. The autobiography is supplemented by a regularly digested biography, prepared by his two sons, which is modestly and skilfully executed. The second volume will appear in due time. The work is printed in clear and readable type and in the good style of the Messrs. Carters.

IN these days of endless discussion of the vexed question of woman's rights and woman's sphere, of what woman *has* done, and of what she *may* do, there comes to us a little volume with the quaint title, "She Spake Him."¹

It is a record of the life and evangelistic labors of Mrs. Henry Dening, *née* Miss Geraldine Hooper, who was born in Paris, March 30, 1841, and who died Aug. 12, 1872, aged thirty-one years. She was a worthy descendant of John Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester and Worcester, a godly martyr of Queen Mary's days. In her earlier life she was a votary of fashion, given to novel-reading and dancing and all the pleasures of gay society, of which she was an ornament. Beautiful in person, amiable in disposition, possessed of rare musical talent, she was the life and joy or the circle in which she moved, attractive not only to the young, but to elderly persons of high literary taste and culture.

She had such a wonderful voice that she received the most flattering pecuniary offers, if she would consent to have it trained for public singing; but in later years it was a matter of rejoicing with her, that the God-given talent had never been employed except in singing His praises. God, in his providence, designed to make her a powerful instrument in proclaiming the Gospel of his Son.

When she was seventeen she was called to pass through severe trials. God's chastening hand was laid upon her, but she kissed the rod that smote her, and yielded her heart to Him, though she did not, for some time, entirely separate herself from the world and its pleasures.

Soon, however, her loving, tender heart was touched by the pitiable condition of the poor of the city in which she lived,—Bath, England,—and in a very humble way she commenced laboring among them, and finally established a morning prayer-meeting, calling it "family worship." In the absence of Mr. Haslam, an evangelist, she was induced to take charge of more public meetings, and absolutely startled herself and others with the discovery of her powers. From these humble beginnings, she extended her labors in and around Bath and the neighboring cities and towns, until no public audience-room could be found large enough to hold the thousands who flocked to hear her, and temporary buildings were erected in

¹ *She Spake of Him.* Being recollections of the loving labors and early death of the late Mrs. Henry Dening, by her friend, Mrs. Grattan Guinness. New York : Carter & Brothers. 1874. 16mo. pp. 323. \$1.25.

anticipation of her coming. Many of her hearers would walk twelve or even fifteen miles to listen to her, and return to their homes at night, only to repeat the journey on the following day.

Her labors seem to have been wonderfully blessed of God in the conversion of large numbers of her hearers.

Her remarkable popularity does not appear to have ministered, in her case, to vanity or conceit. Her friend, the Rev. Dr. Octavius Winslow, testifies, "I have known her for many years, and have never met with a more perfect specimen of real Christianity, lovely religion, and earnest, unreserved consecration to Christ."

The lesson of this little book is not that Mrs. Dening's career is a model which all Christian women should strive to follow; — the language of her biographer is, "To any one similarly gifted, similarly guided, and similarly circumstanced, go and do thou likewise"; but to Christian women in general, "Try to catch the *spirit* of her life, seek not to copy its form; *that* was essential, *this* accidental. Be loving, be zealous, be unremitting in your diligence, whatever be your work; so shall you be equally well pleasing to Him who accepts according to what a man hath, and not according to what he hath not."

MISCELLANEOUS.

*The Ancient City*¹ as the title of a recent work conveys a very limited idea of the contents of a scholarly and elaborate volume. The subordinate title, "A Study on the Religion, Laws, and Institutions of Greece and Rome," is much more specific and comprehensive. The author unites in the same study both the Greeks and the Romans, because they were two branches of a single race "who spoke two idioms of a single language, had the same institutions and the same principles of government, and passed through a series of similar revolutions."

The object of the work is to show that the development of Greek and Roman society was the outgrowth of their religious ideas, that the institutions which prevailed among these peoples were moulded by their religion, and that the revolutions which occurred in their experience were the result of changes in their religious beliefs. The farther back we go in the study of their religion, the nearer we get to the root from which their organic life springs. He traces the formative principle in the Greek and Italian populations back of Homer and Romulus to the beliefs of the Aryas of the East thirty-five centuries ago, as found in the hymns of the Vedas and the laws of Manu.

The worship of dead ancestors led, in his view, to the establishment of the family, then, of the tribe, the city, the state.

Philosophy came in to effect changes; but it is Christianity which "separates ancient from modern politics." "Ancient society had been

¹ *The Ancient City, A Study on the Religion, Laws, and Institutions of Greece and Rome.* By Fustel De Coulanges. Translated from the latest French edition By Willard Small. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1874. 12mo. pp. 529. \$2.50.

established by a religion whose principal dogma was that every god protected exclusively a single family, or a single city, and existed only for that." Christianity revives religious sentiment, awakens a personal conscience, imparts a sense of individual responsibility, and introduces social equality.

This book is not a history, but it presents historical data from a religious standpoint; and it is worthy of the student's careful attention. It is suggestive and valuable to every minister, and has important relations to the great political questions which now challenge the attention of the nations.

The publishers, Messrs. Lee & Shepard, have given the book an attractive and finished style. This enterprising firm, we may appropriately remark, are now engaged, not so much in publishing new books, as in reproducing editions of those which were consumed by fire in January last. Some idea of the extent of their business may be gained from the fact that in the destruction of their bindery, in which their books in sheets and in various stages of manufacture were stored, they lost over 150,000 volumes; yet they still have on hand the largest stock of standard works, in all departments of literature, to be found in New England.

LITERATURE of travel is abundant, and becoming more so, especially of travel in Europe. It is somewhat hazardous to attempt such a book, but we can truly say this branch of literature is absolutely enriched by the addition of Dr. Prime's "Alhambra and the Kremlin; or, The South and the North of Europe."¹ The story is well told, and Dr. Prime has proved himself, by this volume, as good an "Observer" as the paper he edits. We notice a few points of excellence which make this book exceedingly readable and instructive. 1st. He begins his story where you wish him to. The first sentence opens to your eye a scene which is new, and takes you at once to the spot. "In the grounds of the Alhambra, the ancient palace of the Moorish kings of Granada, what time those conquerors of Spain here held their right royal court, I have come to sit down and to rest." After that sentence you will read the book, for it is a pledge of future treatment.

2d. He does not take you along as by an accommodation train, which is all too accommodating, but as by an express train which stops only at the important places. Yet he touches the salient points with such rare powers of description that it is as if the sun had kissed the cheeks of lofty, snow-clad Alpine summits, and made them glow with a light seen from afar. He proceeds not too rapidly, yet so rapidly that you accomplish a great deal in a short time, and accomplish it well. His pen is an admirable guide.

3d. His descriptions are plain and simple, free from an exuberance of adjectives, and therefore very graphic. We once listened to a description of the Yosemite which would have been absolutely fine if it had not been made absolutely horrible by its tremendous array of adjectives. Dr. Prime understands that excessive description is bewildering.

¹ *The Alhambra and the Kremlin. The South and the North of Europe.* By Samuel Irenaeus Prime, author of "*Travels in Europe and the East.*" New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co. Royal 8vo. pp. 482. \$3.00.

4th. His descriptions are accurate, and to read many parts of the book was, to us, like revisiting the scenes.

5th. Not a small excellence of the volume is its terseness and vigor of style, which is made charming by its purity. It has rare keenness at times, as, for example, the sarcasm in this:—

Speaking of the fact that gamblers at Homburg sometimes blow out their brains in a paroxysm of rage and despair at losses, he says, "But such incidents are not of every-day occurrence. Besides, people who play here have not many brains to blow out."

"*The Land of Moab*"¹ is the record of an expedition undertaken in 1872 by the author, Dr. Tristram, and his companions in travel, for a geographical exploration of the country of Moab, under the auspices of the British Association. It narrates the results of a careful survey of a country which had not previously been traversed at leisure by any explorer since the fall of the Roman Empire. The recital of the daily experience of the travellers furnishes a picture of life among a people of whom comparatively little has been known.

The following results are mentioned as enough to reward the most sanguine explorer, viz. "The recovery of several ancient sites; the careful verification of Machærus, the scene of John the Baptist's imprisonment and martyrdom; the very interesting discovery of Zoar, with the valuable illustration it affords of the careful accuracy of the scriptural narrative in the minutest details; the finding of a palace of Chosroes, with its sumptuous architecture, and the ray of light it casts upon one of the most obscure periods of later Roman history."

The narrative is well written. It comprises geography, history, archæology, ornithology, and botany. Its descriptions of ancient ruins are made the more vivid and valuable from the elaborate illustrations secured by means of the photographic art. A special interest attaches to the work as affording light respecting a land so often mentioned in the sacred Scriptures.

W. R. GREG, author of *Enigmas of Life*, has given us a collection of his literary essays,² which are pleasant and profitable reading. We like his "judgments" on matters of this kind better than those he has formed on ethical and theological points. His general ability, as shown in the former volume, whose title is given above, almost all readers would be disposed to admit, though in that volume he gravitates too much to a kind of materialism. But here we find, in the strictly literary articles, what is more healthy and invigorating. He criticises freely and ably some of the tendencies of modern literature, especially the influence of the French press. There are two or three chapters towards the end of the book in

¹ *The Land of Moab: Travels and Discoveries on the east side of the Dead Sea and the Jordan.* By H. B. Tristram, Hon. Canon of Durham.

² *Literary and Social Judgments.* By W. R. Greg. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1873. 12mo. pp. 352. \$2.00.

which the theological element again finds a place, and here we are not prepared to bestow unqualified praise. It is very easy for him, in his writings of this class, to be more dogmatic than wise. His style is vigorous and strong, and many questions are ably discussed. His chapter on "Kingsley and Carlyle" brings two men into connection who are not generally thought of as standing in the same category, and his article on M. De Tocqueville will have a special interest to American readers.

*Myths and Heroes; or, the Childhood of the World.*¹ The title of this little volume attracts us at once, for we all have some globules of the barbarian blood of our remote ancestors still coursing our veins, betraying itself in our love for the mysterious and our enthusiasm for the heroic. The aim of the author is to present a clear, concise account of "man's progress from the unknown time of his early appearance upon the earth to the time when writers of history ordinarily begin."

Part I describes his progress in material things.

Part II seeks to explain his mode of advance from lower to higher stages of religious belief.

Part III presents in a simple but entertaining style, and in chaste language, the ancient Greek myths and legends, indicating the moral lessons taught in each, and their probable origin, in many instances, in the Old Testament narratives.

Part IV gives a graphic account of the Grecian Games, and portrays the lives and characters of a few of the distinguished men of antiquity. These men having exercised a powerful influence on the world's history, the story of their lives is a fitting sequel to the account of the prehistoric races, showing how these races developed into noble and true men, whose deeds have made them immortal. This book is of a class which should largely supplant the endless fictions with which the children's book-shelves are too often crowded, and cannot fail to interest older people as well.

BRIEF NOTICES.

FROM the American Tract Society, New York, we have several volumes worthy of more extended notice, but to which we can only allude briefly. *The Better Land* is a book designed for aged pilgrims, containing short lessons drawn from texts of Scripture, especially adapted to encourage and comfort those whose feet are traversing the Border-Land, and are soon to enter into the Heavenly Mansions. *The Soul's Cry and the Lord's Answer* is a collection of Scripture verses, showing how wonderfully God's word interprets and explains its own truths. These texts are supplemented by another series called *Sunbeams for Human Hearts, from God's Own Word*. For girls we have *The Hard Problem*, pleasantly portraying the efforts and success of one young disciple in solving the problem, "How much owest thou unto thy Lord?" by self-renunciation in the service of her Master. *The Week's Holiday* is a series of short stories

¹ *Myths and Heroes.* Edited by Rev. S. F. Smith, D. D.

well-told and inculcating moral lessons. *Wilson's Kindling Depot* is a sprightly narrative of the successful business enterprise of two little boys who determined to aid their mother, a widow, in keeping their little home and providing her a comfortable support. Mrs. M. E. Miller thoroughly understands children and child life, and her *Little Margery* is as charming and dainty a creature as Sophie May's *Little Prudy* or the quaint *Dotty Dimple*. *Sunshine for Rainy Days* will surely brighten the eye and dimple the cheek of the fortunate child who becomes its possessor. It has alternate pages of text and pictures. The plates are perfect gems, beautifully printed on the finest paper. *My Pet's Picture Book* and *Holiday Pictures* are less pretentious claimants for the little ones' favor, as also are *Little Dot, or the Simple made Wise* and *Robbie's Light*. We have received also the *Holly Books*, six little volumes by the author of *Little Margery*, with many cuts and with illuminated covers.

From the American Tract Society, Boston, we have *The Work of the Holy Spirit*, which is a tasteful volume, giving a text of Scripture for every day of the year, a meditation and a selection of poetry for every week in the year, relating to the nature and office of the Holy Spirit. It indicates much study of the Bible. The meditations are instructive, and the poetry happily chosen. It is a good book as an aid to private devotions. *The Child's Christmas Sheaf, from the Bible Field*, as its title indicates, is a collection of familiar Bible stories and parables, newly arranged for young readers.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Scribner, Armstrong & Co., New York.

The Holy Bible, according to the authorized version (A. D. 1611), with an explanatory and critical Commentary and a revision of the translation, by Bishops and other Clergy of the Anglican Church. Edited by F. C. Cook, M. A., Canon of Exeter, Preacher at Lincoln's Inn, Chaplain-in-ordinary to the Queen. Vol. IV. Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, The Song of Solomon. 1874. Royal 8vo. pp. 702. \$5.00.

Commentary on the Holy Scriptures. Critical, Doctrinal, and Homiletical, with special reference to Ministers and Students, by John Peter Lange, D. D., Ordinary Professor of Theology in the University of Bonn, in connection with a number of eminent European Divines. Translated, enlarged, and edited by Philip Schaff, D. D., Professor of Theology in Union Theological Seminary, New York, in connection with American scholars of various evangelical denominations. Volume XVI of the Old Testament, containing the Minor Prophets. 1874. Royal 8vo. \$5.00.

Central Asia : Travels in Cashmere, Little Tibet, and Central Asia. Compiled and arranged by Bayard Taylor. 1874. 12mo. pp. 365. \$1.50.

The Structure of Animal Life. Six Lectures delivered at the Brooklyn Academy of Music in January and February, 1862, by Louis Agassiz, late Director of the Museum of Comparative Zoölogy. Third edition. 1874. 8vo. pp. 128. \$1.50.

On Missions. A Lecture delivered in Westminster Abbey on Dec. 3, 1873, by F. Max Müller, M. A., Professor of Comparative Philology at Oxford, with an Introductory Sermon by Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D. D., Dean of Westminster. 1874. 12mo. pp. 77. \$1.00.

On Self-Culture : Intellectual, Physical, and Moral. A vade mecum for Young Men and Students. By John Stuart Blackie, Professor of Greek in the University of Edinburgh. 1874. 16mo. pp. 116. \$1.00.

Harper & Brothers, New York.

Hints and Helps in Pastoral Theology. By William S. Plumer, D. D., LL. D. 1874. pp. 381. \$2.00.

The Best Methods of Counteracting Modern Infidelity. A paper read before the General Conference of the Evangelical Alliance, New York, Oct. 6, 1873, by Theodor Christlieb, PH. D., D. D., Professor of Theology, and University Preacher at Bonn, Prussia. 1874. 12mo. pp. 89. 75 cents.

Sub-Tropical Rambles in the Land of the Aphanapteryx. Personal Experiences, Adventures, and Wanderings in and around the Island of Mauritius. By Nicholas Pike. 1873. Crown 8vo. pp. 509. \$3.50.

A System of Christian Rhetoric, for the use of Preachers and other Speakers. By George Winfred Hervey, M. A., author of "Rhetoric of Conversation," etc. 1873. 8vo. pp. 632. \$3.50.

Notes Explanatory and Practical on the Epistle to the Hebrews. By Albert Barnes, author of "Notes on the Psalms," "Lectures on the Evidences of Christianity," etc. etc. Revised Edition. 1873. 12mo. pp. 299. \$1.50.

The Land of Moab : Travels and Discoveries on the east side of the Dead Sea and the Jordan. By H. B. Tristram, M. A., LL. D., F. R. S., with a chapter on the Persian Palace of Mashita, by Jas. Ferguson, F. R. S. With Map and Illustrations by C. L. Buxton and R. C. Johnson. 1873. 8mo. pp. 416. \$2.50.

Among our Sailors. By J. Grey Jewell, M. D., late United States Consul, Singapore. With an Appendix containing Extracts from the Laws and Consular Regulations governing the United States Merchant Service. 1874. 12mo. pp. 311. \$1.50.

The Huguenots in France, after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. With a Visit to the Country of the Vaudois. By Samuel Smiles, author of "Self-Help," "Character," "Life of the Stephensons," etc. 1874. 8vo. pp. 430. \$2.00.

The Parisians. By Edward Bulwer, Lord Lytton. With Illustrations by Sydney Hall. 8vo. pp. 336. \$1.50; in paper, \$1.00.

Robert Carter & Brothers, New York.

Expository Thoughts on the Gospels, For Family and Private Use. With the Text complete. By the Rev. J. C. Ryle, M. A., Vicar of Stradbroke. St. John. Vols. I, II, and III. 1874. 12mo. pp. 422, 382, 475. \$1.50 per vol.

The Gates of Prayer : A Book of Private Devotion for Morning and Evening. By the author of "Morning and Night Watches," "Memories of Bethany," etc. 1874. 32mo. pp. 363. \$1.00.

The Word of Life ; being Selections from the Work of a Ministry. By Charles J. Brown, D. D., Edinburgh. 1874. 12mo. pp. 330. \$1.50.

Blending Lights ; or the Relations of Natural Science, Archæology, and History, to the Bible. By the Rev. William Fraser, LL. D., Paisley, Scotland. 1874. 12mo. pp. 376. \$2.00.

Sermons by the late Robert S. Candlish, D. D., Minister of Free St. George's, and Principal of the New College, Edinburgh. With a Biographical Preface. 1874. 12mo. pp. 315. \$2.00.

The Christ of God. By Horatius Bonar, D. D. 1874. 16mo. pp. 216. \$1.25.

The Relations of the Kingdom to the World. By J. Oswald Dykes, D. D. 1874. 16mo. pp. 210. \$1.25.

Autobiography of Thomas Guthrie; and Memoir, by his sons, Rev. David K. Guthrie and Charles J. Guthrie. Vol. I. 12mo. pp. 424. \$2.00.

Dodd & Mead, New York.

A Comparative History of Religions. By James C. Moffat, D. D., Professor in the Theological Seminary in Princeton. Part II. Later Scriptures, Progress and Revolutions of Faith. 12mo. pp. 312. \$1.50.

Gold and Dross. By Edward Garrett, author of "Crooked Places," "Occupations of a Retired Life," etc. etc. 1874. 12mo. pp. 305. \$1.75.

A. S. Barnes & Co., New York.

Memorial Pulpit. Vol. II. Bethel and Peniel. Twenty-six Sermons preached in the Presbyterian Memorial Church, Madison Avenue, and 53d Street, N. Y. By Chas. S. Robinson, D. D., Pastor. 12mo. pp. 319. \$1.50.

The Poet's Gift of Consolation to Sorrowing Mothers. Small 4to. pp. 165. \$1.50.

Favorite Hymns in their Original Form. Selected and Verified by William Leonard Gage. 1874. Small 4to. pp. 115. \$1.25.

Hurd & Houghton, New York.

Seven Historic Ages; or, Talks about Kings, Queens, and Barbarians. By Arthur Gilman, M. A., author of "First Steps in English Literature," 1874. 18mo. pp. 144. \$1.00.

American Tract Society, New York.

The Hard Problem. 16mo. pp. 308. \$1.25.

Sunshine for Rainy Days. Small 4to. pp. 94. \$1.00.

The Better Land. By Rev. James Smith. 32mo. pp. 128. 75 cents.

A Week's Holiday; and other Stories for Children. By S. Annie Frost. 18mo. pp. 208. 75 cents.

Wilson's Kindling Depot. A Story for Boys. By Mrs. C. E. R. Parker, author of "Stories for Little Ones at Home," "Grandmamma's Trunk Full of Stories," etc. 18mo. pp. 144. 60 cents.

Holiday Pictures. By Mrs. J. S. Dammast. 18mo. pp. 94. 50 cents.

The Soul's Cry and the Lord's Answer. 32mo. pp. 47. 40 cents.

My Pet's Picture-Book. 18mo. pp. 46. 30 cents.

Robbie's Light. By S. Annie Frost. 18mo. pp. 62. 30 cents.

Little Dot. The Simple Made Wise. 18mo. pp. 58. 30 cents.

Little Margery. By Mrs. M. E. Miller. Small 4to. pp. 102. 90 cents.

Holly Books. By Mrs. M. E. Miller. 48mo. pp. 64. 25 cents each. The set (six) in nice box, \$1.50.

J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia.

History of the Conquest of Mexico, with a preliminary view of the Ancient Mexican Civilization, and the life of the Conqueror, Hernando Cortés. By William H. Prescott, author of the "History of Ferdinand and Isabella," "History of the Conquest of Peru," etc. New and revised edition, with the author's latest corrections and additions. Edited by John Foster Kirk. Vols. I, II, and III. 1874. 12mo. pp. 477, 463, 522. \$2.25 a volume.

[April,

J. R. Osgood & Co., Boston.

History of the Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America. By Henry Wilson. Vol. I. 1872. Royal 8vo. pp. 670. \$5.00.

D. Lothrop & Co., Boston.

A Faithful Ministry. Edited by George B. Bacon. 12mo. pp. 363. \$1.50.

Myths and Heroes; or, the Childhood of the World. Edited by S. F. Smith, D. D. 12mo. pp. 324. \$1.75.

Kitty Kent's Troubles. By Julia A. Eastman, author of the \$1,000 Prize Story, & "Striking for the Right," "The Romneys of Ridgmont," etc. 1873. 12mo. pp. 488. \$1.50.

Roberts Brothers, Boston.

The Rising Faith. By C. A. Bartol, author of "Radical Problems." 1874. 16mo. pp. 386. \$2.00.

Personal Recollections, from Early Life to Old Age, of Mary Somerville. With Selections from her Correspondence. By her daughter, Martha Somerville. 1874. 8vo. pp. 377. \$2.50.

Verses by H. H., author of "Bits of Talk" and "Bits of Travel." 1874. 32mo. pp. 191. \$1.25.

American Tract Society, Boston.

The Work of the Spirit; or Doctrinal and Practical Meditations on the Nature and Work of the Holy Ghost. By the Rev. Samuel Cutter. American Tract Society, Boston. 1873. 16mo. pp. 240. \$2.00.

The Child's Christmas Sheaf from the Bible Field. I. The Good Voices. II. Parables. By the Rev. Edwin A. Abbott, M.A., Head Master of the City of London School. Revised from the London Edition. Illustrated. 16mo. pp. 202. \$1.00.

PAMPHLETS RECEIVED.

A Scripture Catechism for Primary Classes in Sunday-schools. Published by the American Tract Society, 219 Washington Street, Boston. Hurd & Houghton, New York.

The Use of a Box. By S. T. James. This Tract is furnished to Congregations and others at the rate of 300 for one dollar, by mail. American Tract Society, 219 Washington Street, Boston.

Uncle Ben's Bag. A Tract.

Spooner's Gardening Guide and General Seed Catalogue. Boston, 1874.

Report of the Treasurer and Receiver-General of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, for the year ending Dec. 31, 1873. Boston. Wright & Potter, State Printers.

Twenty-first Annual Report of the Children's Aid Society. Nov. 1873. Office, No. 19 East 4th Street, New York.

The Public Ledger Almanac. Geo. W. Childs, Chestnut Street, Philadelphia.

The American Newspaper Reporter and Printers' Gazette. Geo. P. Rowell & Co. The Book Buyer. A Summary of American and Foreign Literature. Vol. VII. No. 4.

College Days. Ripon, Wis. Jan. 1874. Vol. VI. No. 4.

The Parisians. By Lord Lytton. With Illustrations by Sydney Hall. New York. Harper & Brothers, Publishers. 8vo. Paper. \$1.00.

EDITORS' TABLE.

We give our readers in the present number two articles on one phase of "woman's sphere," as this general theme seems to hold a large share of public attention. It is not a little remarkable that in this instance a man volunteers to defend woman's right to speak in religious assemblies, and a woman comes forward to maintain the opposite position. It is still further notable that the advocacy of the radical side comes from a representative of a conservative church, and the opposing plea is by a member of the Plymouth Church in Brooklyn, N. Y. A garden sometimes yields unexpected fruit, and the pollen is often blown from one flower-bed to another.

We congratulate our readers that our present issue will reach them at an early date. Furnishing our periodical at a price so low as to involve a practical disregard of pecuniary considerations, we confess that it is a comfort to know that our work is appreciated. The following spontaneous expressions will show that our labor has not been in vain.

A subscriber from California writes: "The place which the *Quarterly* holds is unique, and I do not wish to see it vacate it, or essentially change its character. It is a grand good thing for our wants."

One from Illinois says: "I want to renew my expression of great satisfaction both with the character of the *Quarterly* and with the fact that through type and paper you make it pleasing to the eye as well as the mind."

Another, from Oberlin, Ohio, writes: "Permit me to thank you in the name of a godly Puritan ancestry for their vindication against calumnious aspersions of every stripe, from sectarian bigotry and ignorant liberalism. . . . Your own 'Table-Talk' and 'Literary Review' drop anchor on safe bottom, and must largely remould public opinion. May the blessing of our only Master rest upon you in your great and fruitful work!"

The *College Courant* of Yale, noticing our last number, says: "The *Congregational Quarterly* for January is in outward dress unsurpassed, hardly equalled in our periodical journalism. The matter does not fall behind; but the part of the journal giving the 'Annual Statistics of the American Congregational Ministers and Churches,' is worth to every Congregational minister and prominent layman, as well as to others interested in the progress of Christianity in our country, the full cost of the *Quarterly* for the year."

The *Springfield Daily Union* says: "The *Congregational Quarterly* is an altogether unique and very valuable miscellany of literature, archaeology, statistics, and almost everything which concerns Congregationalism. The January number, which is always double, is the year-book of this denomination. . . . Its biographies and necrology of eminent and useful men and women are sending along to the future accurate and valuable material for history. While the topics of the essays are more commonly selected from the range of church polity, room is found for fresh discussions in science, history, and social interests. Curious antiquarian researches, especially in New England fields, are a specialty. But we generally turn first to the book-criticism, which has a peculiar flavor and relish, quite Halforde-esque."

Favoring our subscribers as we do in regard to the price of our magazine, if they would volunteer a little effort to increase the number of subscribers, it would be to us a special encouragement in our work. We appeal to the pastors. Will you not secure for the *Quarterly* some patrons among your parishioners? How can you better prepare them to be intelligent hearers and efficient co-workers in the cause of Christ?

[April,

QUARTERLY RECORD.

CHURCHES FORMED.

1873.

- GRAND ISLAND**, Neb., Dec. 23, 11 members.
RENO CENTRE, Lincoln, Kan., Dec. 12, 15 members.
BOONE, Neb., Jan. 15, 7 members.
DECOURSEY VALLEY (near Leon), Wis., Feb. 20, 34 members.
FRANKLIN, Neb., 8 members.
GRAFTON, Neb., 8 members.
HEMATITE, Mo., Jan. 8, 12 members.
LINCOLN, Io., Jan. 7, 10 members.
NUNCIA, Mich., Jan. 11.
PLEASANT PRAIRIE, Neb., Feb. 8, 13 members.
RANDOLPH, Neb., Feb. 1, 5 members.

MINISTERS ORDAINED.

1873.

- BEARD**, HENRY B., over the Ch. in Little Valley, N. Y., Dec. 31. Sermon by Rev. E. Corwin. Ordaining prayer by Rev. William Hallock, of Jamestown.
BROWNBILL, JOHN W., over the Ch. in South Bridgton, Me., Dec. 18. Sermon by Rev. Andrew J. Smith, of Waterford. Ordaining prayer by Rev. Edward F. Abbot, of Lowell.
CHRISTIE, G. W., over the Ch. in Kittery Point, Me., Dec. 11. Sermon by Rev. Egbert C. Smythe, D. D., of Andover Seminary, Mass. Ordaining prayer by Rev. Stephen Thurston, D. D., of Searsport.
DENISON, DANIEL, over the Ch. in Middle Haddam, Ct., Dec. 30. Sermon by Rev. John P. Taylor, of Middletown. Ordaining prayer by Rev. Salmon McCall, of East Haddam.
MILLER, RICHARD, to the work of the Ministry in Emerald Grove, Wis., Dec. 23. Sermon by Rev. George Bushnell, of Beloit. Ordaining prayer by Rev. Harlan P. Case, of Shoreline.
NOBLE, CHARLES, over the Ch. in Franklin, N. Y., Dec. 17. Sermon by Rev. Mason Noble, Jr., of Sheffield, Mass. Ordaining prayer by Rev. Mason Noble, D. D., of Washington, D. C.
RICE, AUGUSTUS M., over the Ch. in Little Compton, R. I., Dec. 17. Sermon by Rev. Constantine Blodgett, D. D., of Pawtucket. Ordaining prayer by Rev. James P. Lane, of Bristol.
TIBBETS, ARTHUR, over the Ch. in Blue-hill, Me., Dec. 22. Sermon by Rev. William Forsyth, of Bucksport. Ordaining prayer by Rev. Sewall Tenney, D. D., of Ellsworth.

1874.

- CAMPBELL**, HENRY F., over the Ch. in Francestown, N. H., Jan. 22. Sermon by Rev. Frederick Alvord, of Nashua. Ordaining prayer by Rev. Samuel L. Gerould, of Goffstown.

- CLARK**, S. W., over the Ch. in Warwick, Mass., Jan. 14. Sermon by Rev. Temple Cutler, of Athol. Ordaining prayer by Rev. Henry B. Hooker, D. D., of Boston.
FOSS, GEORGE A., over the Ch. in Chichester, N. H., Feb. 24. Sermon by Rev. Elliot C. Cogswell, of Northwood. Ordaining prayer by Rev. Franklin D. Ayer, of Concord.

- PAGE**, C. E., to the work of the Ministry in Huntsburg, O., Jan. 3.

- REED**, C. F., over the Ch. in Naperville, Ill., Jan. 13. Sermon by Rev. George N. Boardman, D. D., of Chicago Seminary.

- SPEARE**, S. L. B., to the work of the Ministry in Charlestown, Mass., Jan. 30. Ordaining prayer by Rev. George W. Blagden, D. D., of Boston.

- TUTTLE**, H. B., to the work of the Ministry in Lake Mills, Wis., Jan. 20. Sermon by Rev. Enos J. Montague, of Fort Atkinson. Ordaining prayer by Rev. Charles C. Cragin, of Watertown.

MINISTERS INSTALLED.

1873.

- BEARD**, Rev. EDWIN S., over the Ch. in Brooklyn, Ct., Dec. 31. Sermon by Rev. Samuel E. Herrick, of Boston, Mass. Installing prayer by Rev. Spencer F. Beard, of Andover, Mass.

- BRADLEY**, Rev. CHARLES F., over the Ch. in Birmingham, Ct., Dec. 31.

- FREEBORN**, Rev. J. G., over the Ch. in Cottonwood Falls, Kan., Dec. 10. Sermon by Rev. John Scotford, of Milford.

- MANN**, Rev. ASA, over the Ch. in Raynham, Mass., Dec. 30. Sermon by Rev. Edmund K. Alden, D. D., of South Boston. Installing prayer by Rev. Erastus Maitby, of Taunton.

- ORDWAY**, Rev. JAIRUS, over the Ch. in Salem, Ct., Dec. 18. Sermon by Rev. Samuel G. Willard, of Colchester. Installing prayer by Rev. William A. Hyde, of Grassy Hill, Lyme.

- PUTNAM**, Rev. HIRAM B., over the Tabernacle Ch. in Salem, Mass., Dec. 31. Sermon by Rev. James G. Vose, of Providence, R. I. Installing prayer by Rev. George N. Anthony, of Peabody.

- ROWLEY**, Rev. GEORGE B., over the Ch. in Norfolk, N. Y., Dec. 30. Sermon by Rev. George A. Rockwood, of Rensselaer Falls. Installing prayer by Rev. John H. Beckwith, of Parishville.

- SCUDDER**, Rev. W. W., over the 1st Ch. in Glastonbury, Ct., Dec. 18. Sermon by Rev. Henry M. Scudder, D. D., of Brooklyn, N. Y. Installing prayer by Rev. Samuel H. Riddel, of Tamworth, N. H.

- WILLARD**, Rev. JOHN, over the Union Ch. in Marlboro', Mass., Dec. 30. Sermon by Rev. Joshua W. Wellman, D. D., of Newton. Installing prayer by Rev. Winfield S. Hawkes, of Stafford Springs, Ct.

- WOODHULL**, Rev. JOHN A., over the Ch. in Groton, Ct., Dec. 24. Sermon and installing prayer by Rev. Oliver E. Daggett, D. D., of New London.

1874.

ANGIER, Rev. MARSHALL B., over the South Ch. in Ipswich, Mass., Feb. 4. Sermon by Rev. Edmund K. Alden, D. D., of South Boston. Installing prayer by Rev. George M. Anthony, of Peabody.

CARR, Rev. W. P., over the Temple St. Ch. in New Haven, Ct., Feb. 12.

LEWIS, Rev. GEORGE, over the Ch. in South Berwick, Me., Jan. 15. Sermon by Rev. William Warren, D. D., of Gorham. Installing prayer by Rev. Alvan Tobe, D. D., of South Berwick.

NICHOLS, Rev. NATHAN R., over the Ch. in Barnet, Vt., Jan. 27. Sermon by Rev. Joseph Torrey, of East Hardwick. Installing prayer by Rev. John P. Humphrey, of East St. Johnsbury.

SAMUEL, Rev. ROBERT, over the Ch. in Weston, Vt., Jan. 14. Sermon by Rev. Levi H. Cobb, of Springfield.

SHERRILL, Rev. DANA, over the Ch. in Forrest, Ill., Feb. 10.

STURTEVANT, Rev. JULIAN M., Jr., over the Ch. in Denver, Col., Jan. 20. Sermon by Rev. Theodore C. Jerome, of Central.

WILD, Rev. AZEL W., over the Ch. in Peacham, Vt., Jan. 22. Sermon by Rev. Edward P. Wild, of North Craftsbury. Installing prayer by Rev. Moses H. Wells, of Lower Waterford.

MINISTERS DISMISSED.

1873.

BELDEN, Rev. WEBSTER W., from the Ch. in Bristol, Ct., Dec. 26.

BRAY, Rev. WILLIAM L., from the Ch. in Marshalltown, Ia., Dec. 16.

CHAMBERLAIN, Rev. WILLIAM A., from the Ch. in Oshkosh, Wis., Dec. 17.

CURTIS, Rev. ASHER W., from the Ch. in Lishon, Ill., Oct. 1.

DICKERMAN, Rev. GEORGE S., from the Ch. in West Haven, Ct., Dec. 31.

LYMAN, Rev. GEORGE, from the Ch. in South Amherst, Mass., Dec. 15.

PETTIBONE, Rev. IRA, from the Ch. in West Stafford, Ct., Dec. 25.

PUTNAM, Rev. HIRAM B., from the Ch. in West Concord, N. H., Dec. 15.

SEARLE, Rev. RICHARD T., from the Ch. in Thetford, Vt., Dec. 15.

STONE, Rev. B. N., from the Ch. in Loudon, N. H., Dec. 30.

WALLACE, Rev. CYRUS W., D. D., from the Hanover St. Ch., Manchester, N. H., Dec. 16.

WELLMAN, Rev. JOSHUA W., D. D., from the Eliot Ch. in Newton, Mass., Oct. 23.

1874.

BAKER, Rev. JOHN W. H., from the Ch. in Brewer, Me., Feb. 17.

DASCOMB, Rev. ALFRED B., from the Ch. in Woodstock, Vt., Feb. 3.

FAIRBANKS, Rev. EDWARD T., from the Ch. in St. Johnsbury Centre, Vt., Jan. 30.

FORSYTH, Rev. WILLIAM, from the Elm St. Ch. in Bucksport, Me., Mar. 15.

HUBBARD, Rev. JAMES M., from the Ch. in Granville, Mass., Jan. 13.

JACOBS, Rev. HENRY, from the Ch. in Wayne, Ill.

WELLS, Rev. RUFUS P., from the Ch. in Southampton, Mass., Jan. 27.

WOLCOTT, Rev. SAMUEL P. D., from the Plymouth Ch. in Cleveland, O., Feb. 17.

MINISTERS MARRIED.

1873.

SHERRILL — **AYRES**. In Morris, Ill., Dec. 23, Rev. Dana Sherrill, of Forrest, to Miss Louice Ayres, of Morris.

1874.

EELLS — **CROSBY**. In Boise City, Idaho, Jan. 18, Rev. Myron Eells to Miss Sarah M. Crosby, both of Boise City.

MAKEPEACE — **VIETS**. In East Granby, Ct., Rev. Frank B. Makepeace, of Gloucester, Mass., to Miss Helen M. Viets, of East Granby.

NOBLE — **THOMAS**. In Norwich, Ct., Jan. 21, Rev. Charles Noble, of Franklin, N. Y., to Miss Alice Thomas, of Norwich.

SHERRILL — **JONES**. In Omaha, Neb., Feb. 4, Rev. A. F. Sherrill, to Miss Mary Jones, both of Omaha.

THAYER — **BISSELL**. In East Windsor, Ct., Rev. David H. Thayer, of East Windsor, to Miss Mary S. Bissell.

MINISTERS DECEASED.

1873.

GRANT, Rev. JOEL, in Chicago, Ill., Dec. 31, aged 37 years.

HITCHCOCK, Rev. ALLEN B., in Moline, Ill., Dec. 15, aged 60 years.

INGHAM, Rev. SAMUEL, in the Santee Agency, Neb., Dec. 25, aged 36 years.

JONES, Rev. ISAAC, in Derry, N. H., Nov. 4, aged 91 years.

PAGE, Rev. CALER F., in Milton, N. H., Dec. 6, aged 76 years.

SHELDON, Rev. NATHAN W., in Natick, Mass., Nov. 26, aged 81 years.

1874.

HOLTON, Rev. ISAAC F., in Everett, Mass., Jan. 25, aged 61 years.

PECK, Rev. DAVID, in Sunderland, Mass., Jan. 31, aged 48 years.

PUTNAM, Rev. RUFUS A., in Pembroke, N. H., aged 82 years.

SEWELL, Rev. ROBERT, in Stoughton, Wis., Feb. 11.

SMITH, Rev. JOHN, in Stamford, Ct., Feb. 21, aged 77 years.

WOOSTER, Rev. JOHN, in West Burke, Vt., Jan. 3.

MINISTERS' WIVES DECEASED.

1873.

BALDWIN, Mrs. CHARLOTTE F., wife of Rev. Dwight, in Honolulu, S. I., Oct. 2, aged 68 years.

DENISON, Mrs. —, wife of Rev. Daniel, in Middle Haddam, Ct., Dec. 22.

PIERCE, Mrs. —, wife of Rev. Nathaniel, in Minneapolis, Minn., Dec. 21, aged 44 years.

1874.

DIXON, Mrs. SARAH H., wife of Rev. A. M., in Hebron, Ill., Feb. 2.

PARSONS, Mrs. MARY E. D., wife of Rev. Henry M., in Boston, Mass., Feb. 13, aged 45 years.

PATTON, Mrs. HARRIET E., wife of Rev. William, D. D., in New Haven, Ct., Jan. 22, aged 65 years.

SEABURY, Mrs. ELIZABETH, wife of Rev. Edwin, in Berlin, Vt., Jan. 23.

AMERICAN CONGREGATIONAL UNION.

Quarterly Statement.

THE following appropriations have been paid by the *Union* since Jan. 1, 1874:—

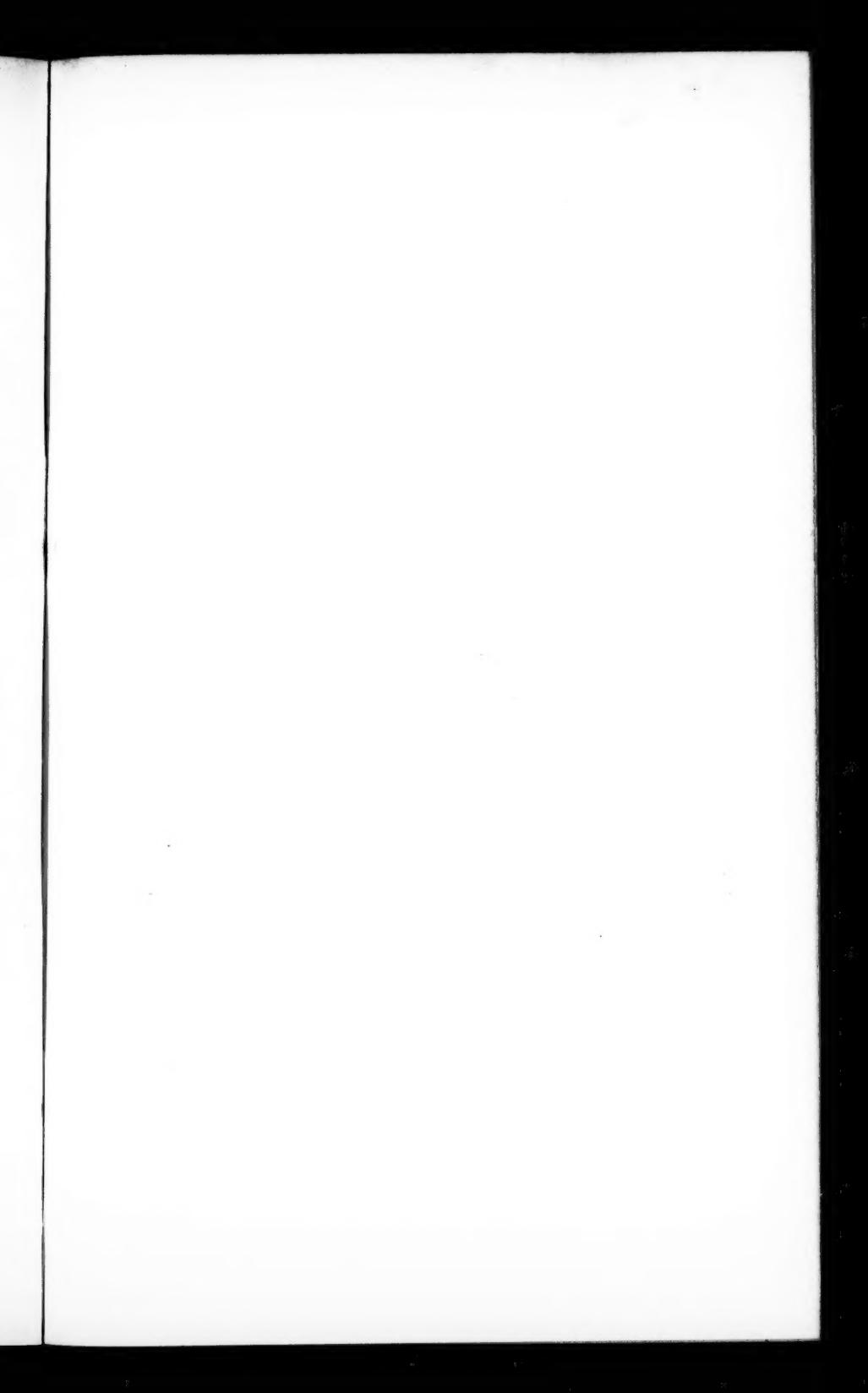
Riverside,	<i>Cal.</i>	1st Ch. of Christ	\$400.00
North Stamford,	<i>Conn.</i>	Cong. Church (Special) . . .	109.50
Forest,	<i>Ill.</i>	1st " "	400.00
Carroll,	<i>Iowa,</i>	" "	450.00
Cherokee,	"	1st " "	450.00
Bala,	<i>Kan.</i>	Bethel " " of Powys' . . .	200.00
Potter's Landing,	<i>Md.</i>	" "	250.00
Farwell,	<i>Mich.</i>	" " (Special)	21.00
Sherman,	"	" (Special)	52.75
Memphis,	<i>Mo.</i>	1st " " (Special, \$30.50) . .	430.50
Pauldingville,	"	" " of St. Charles	300.00
Irvington,	<i>Neb.</i>	" " (Special)	110.00
Pisgah,	<i>Ohio,</i>	" " (Special, \$35.00) . .	235.00
Herndon,	<i>Va.</i>	" " (Special)	78.50
Freedom,	<i>Wis.</i>	1st " " (Special, \$155.00). .	355.00
			<hr/> \$3,842.25 <hr/>

The work of church erection moves on, but the demand far exceeds the pecuniary resources of the Union. The necessities of the poor churches are not appreciated by those churches or individuals who are in more highly favored circumstances. As an illustration of the straits into which our brethren are sometimes brought, we give the following extracts from a letter written by a missionary, or rather for him by his wife:—

"I cannot write myself, as I am laid low with severe illness. But one matter demands instant attention. Our contractor for building the church says, the money must be paid by January 1st, or it will be collected *forthwith*. Cannot you send us at once \$350? Otherwise the minister and deacon (both poor) see no way but to sell the church, or suffer their own shelters to go for pay. Help, if you can, to keep this temple of God in this godless town."

This is an extreme case; but there are many cases of hard struggles and actual suffering. Will not our able churches and wealthy Christians listen to the cry of the poor? Shall the Master say, "Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these, ye did it not to me?" Only one month remains before the financial year of the Union closes. We need thousands of dollars to complete the work of the year. Shall we have it?

RAY PALMER, *Cor. Sec.*, 69 Bible House, New York.
 C. CUSHING, *Cor. Sec.*, 20 Congregational House, Boston.
 N. A. CALKINS, *Treas.*, 69 Bible House, New York.





A. & C. Smith, 638 Broadway N.Y.

Richard S. Morris.

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60
61
62
63
64
65
66
67
68
69
70
71
72
73
74
75
76
77
78
79
80
81
82
83
84
85
86
87
88
89
90
91
92
93
94
95
96
97
98
99
100
101
102
103
104
105
106
107
108
109
110
111
112
113
114
115
116
117
118
119
120
121
122
123
124
125
126
127
128
129
130
131
132
133
134
135
136
137
138
139
140
141
142
143
144
145
146
147
148
149
150
151
152
153
154
155
156
157
158
159
160
161
162
163
164
165
166
167
168
169
170
171
172
173
174
175
176
177
178
179
180
181
182
183
184
185
186
187
188
189
190
191
192
193
194
195
196
197
198
199
200
201
202
203
204
205
206
207
208
209
210
211
212
213
214
215
216
217
218
219
220
221
222
223
224
225
226
227
228
229
230
231
232
233
234
235
236
237
238
239
240
241
242
243
244
245
246
247
248
249
250
251
252
253
254
255
256
257
258
259
260
261
262
263
264
265
266
267
268
269
270
271
272
273
274
275
276
277
278
279
280
281
282
283
284
285
286
287
288
289
290
291
292
293
294
295
296
297
298
299
300
301
302
303
304
305
306
307
308
309
310
311
312
313
314
315
316
317
318
319
320
321
322
323
324
325
326
327
328
329
330
331
332
333
334
335
336
337
338
339
340
341
342
343
344
345
346
347
348
349
350
351
352
353
354
355
356
357
358
359
360
361
362
363
364
365
366
367
368
369
370
371
372
373
374
375
376
377
378
379
380
381
382
383
384
385
386
387
388
389
390
391
392
393
394
395
396
397
398
399
400
401
402
403
404
405
406
407
408
409
410
411
412
413
414
415
416
417
418
419
420
421
422
423
424
425
426
427
428
429
430
431
432
433
434
435
436
437
438
439
440
441
442
443
444
445
446
447
448
449
450
451
452
453
454
455
456
457
458
459
460
461
462
463
464
465
466
467
468
469
470
471
472
473
474
475
476
477
478
479
480
481
482
483
484
485
486
487
488
489
490
491
492
493
494
495
496
497
498
499
500
501
502
503
504
505
506
507
508
509
510
511
512
513
514
515
516
517
518
519
520
521
522
523
524
525
526
527
528
529
530
531
532
533
534
535
536
537
538
539
540
541
542
543
544
545
546
547
548
549
550
551
552
553
554
555
556
557
558
559
550
551
552
553
554
555
556
557
558
559
560
561
562
563
564
565
566
567
568
569
570
571
572
573
574
575
576
577
578
579
580
581
582
583
584
585
586
587
588
589
590
591
592
593
594
595
596
597
598
599
600
601
602
603
604
605
606
607
608
609
610
611
612
613
614
615
616
617
618
619
620
621
622
623
624
625
626
627
628
629
630
631
632
633
634
635
636
637
638
639
640
641
642
643
644
645
646
647
648
649
650
651
652
653
654
655
656
657
658
659
660
661
662
663
664
665
666
667
668
669
660
661
662
663
664
665
666
667
668
669
670
671
672
673
674
675
676
677
678
679
680
681
682
683
684
685
686
687
688
689
690
691
692
693
694
695
696
697
698
699
700
701
702
703
704
705
706
707
708
709
700
701
702
703
704
705
706
707
708
709
710
711
712
713
714
715
716
717
718
719
710
711
712
713
714
715
716
717
718
719
720
721
722
723
724
725
726
727
728
729
720
721
722
723
724
725
726
727
728
729
730
731
732
733
734
735
736
737
738
739
730
731
732
733
734
735
736
737
738
739
740
741
742
743
744
745
746
747
748
749
740
741
742
743
744
745
746
747
748
749
750
751
752
753
754
755
756
757
758
759
750
751
752
753
754
755
756
757
758
759
760
761
762
763
764
765
766
767
768
769
760
761
762
763
764
765
766
767
768
769
770
771
772
773
774
775
776
777
778
779
770
771
772
773
774
775
776
777
778
779
780
781
782
783
784
785
786
787
788
789
780
781
782
783
784
785
786
787
788
789
790
791
792
793
794
795
796
797
798
799
790
791
792
793
794
795
796
797
798
799
800
801
802
803
804
805
806
807
808
809
800
801
802
803
804
805
806
807
808
809
810
811
812
813
814
815
816
817
818
819
810
811
812
813
814
815
816
817
818
819
820
821
822
823
824
825
826
827
828
829
820
821
822
823
824
825
826
827
828
829
830
831
832
833
834
835
836
837
838
839
830
831
832
833
834
835
836
837
838
839
840
841
842
843
844
845
846
847
848
849
840
841
842
843
844
845
846
847
848
849
850
851
852
853
854
855
856
857
858
859
850
851
852
853
854
855
856
857
858
859
860
861
862
863
864
865
866
867
868
869
860
861
862
863
864
865
866
867
868
869
870
871
872
873
874
875
876
877
878
879
870
871
872
873
874
875
876
877
878
879
880
881
882
883
884
885
886
887
888
889
880
881
882
883
884
885
886
887
888
889
890
891
892
893
894
895
896
897
898
899
890
891
892
893
894
895
896
897
898
899
900
901
902
903
904
905
906
907
908
909
900
901
902
903
904
905
906
907
908
909
910
911
912
913
914
915
916
917
918
919
910
911
912
913
914
915
916
917
918
919
920
921
922
923
924
925
926
927
928
929
920
921
922
923
924
925
926
927
928
929
930
931
932
933
934
935
936
937
938
939
930
931
932
933
934
935
936
937
938
939
940
941
942
943
944
945
946
947
948
949
940
941
942
943
944
945
946
947
948
949
950
951
952
953
954
955
956
957
958
959
950
951
952
953
954
955
956
957
958
959
960
961
962
963
964
965
966
967
968
969
960
961
962
963
964
965
966
967
968
969
970
971
972
973
974
975
976
977
978
979
970
971
972
973
974
975
976
977
978
979
980
981
982
983
984
985
986
987
988
989
980
981
982
983
984
985
986
987
988
989
990
991
992
993
994
995
996
997
998
999
990
991
992
993
994
995
996
997
998
999
1000